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ABSTRACT

The 13 papers in this yearbook discuss 4 broad subject areas: questions of competence, evaluating quality, professional cultures, and learning and trends in adult education. The following papers are included: "Human Resource Development (HRD) Practitioners Analyzing Their Work"(Tuija Valkeavaara); "Life Competence in a World of Change" (Margaretha Balle-Petersen); "Different Schools, Different Priorities" (Heidi Engesbak, Odd Helge Lindseth); "Learning from Change?" (Glenn Hultman, Alger Klasson); "Quality of Adult Learning" (Seppo Kontiainen, Jyri Manninen); "The Modernization of Minds--Qualification and Adult Education in the Transformation of the Welfare State" (Kirsten Weber); "Different Access to Education and Training in Mother Tongue Reinforces Differences between Professional Cultures" (Anne-Lise Hostmark Tarrou);"Learning in Order to Control" (Jan Holmer); "The Challenge to Working Life Education" (Bengt Petersson, Per Olof Thang); "Work and Learning" (Palle Rasmussen); "From Philanthropy to Deinstitutionalisation" (Paul N. Gooderham, Sigvart Tosse); "Knowles' Andragogy, Pedagogy, and Self-Directed Learning" (Bjorn-Emil Madsen); and "Knowledge and Democracy--Old and New Social Movements as Learning Environments in the Post-War Welfare State" (Lars Arvidson, Jorun M. Stenoien). (YLB)

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SOCIAL CHANGE AND ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH

Adult Education Research in Nordic Countries 1996

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Social Change and Adult Education Research

Adult Education Research in Nordic Countries 1996

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Sigvart Tøsse, Norway
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Bosse Bergstedt, Sweden

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Preface

To the Reader

The Nordic Yearbook comes out in a time marked with radical change. Characteristic of radical change is the emergence of new and the disappearance of old jobs and, as a response to this process, a debate on future directions of change. The Yearbook contributes to this debate by presenting a number of fresh studies born in Nordic countries, a region with a rich tradition of adult education.

All industrialised countries are experiencing similar upheavals in their employment processes, which poses a challenge to adult education. While technological advances displace many workers, new jobs are, nevertheless, being created. A major challenge both to the public and the private sector is that these new jobs demand highly skilled, adaptable, innovative workers who are constantly upgrading their old skills and learning new ones. We are experiencing a shift from an economy based on natural resources and mass production to one based on ideas, knowledge and innovation. In such a situation adult education students and establishments must display future readiness, a willingness to examine tomorrow's alternatives and evaluate them.

In this decade *professional expertise* has emerged as one of the most important issues in education. Inevitably, global economic and social changes form the background of this new focus of interest. We need to reflect on the nature and content of expertise in a changing world. Professional expertise is a phenonomenon significant from both a national and a global viewpoint. The aim is to understand how we can integrate the viewpoints of working life and education while developing prerequisites for the acquisition of expertise in educational contexts.

Today's rapid social change has also made it necessary to look at expertise from the viewpoint of the future. It seems imperative to pay more attention to the images of the future held by intellectuals and the general public and to the education that is needed to prepare people more effectively for the 21st century. There is a growing awareness of the need to incorporate the future dimension into the curriculum. However, researchers have very different views of the future, ranging from what may be called conservative and liberal to catastrophic and revolutionary visions. The most authoritative investigations outline future societies that somehow seem to be synonymous with a technological future.

One of the major consequences of the current technological revolution in micro-electronics, computer science, telecommunications, transportation and biotechnology has been the globalisation of world markets. Globalisation has been described as an evolving pattern of cross-border business activities, involving international investment and trade and collaboration in the production of goods and services. Two key elements of globalisation are the growth of transnational production and the increasing interdependence among international economies. The future is seen in relation to this development as well as in terms of social issues. Hence the agenda of postmodern expert education for adults based on culture, human enrichment, social equality and social justice.

Today information technology dominates our lives. It can easily replace many functions formerly performed by people; computers can remember, make decisions, estimate and count better, faster, and cheaper than human beings. This fact is transforming society in much the same way that the combustion engine and electricity once changed the family farm. A result of the growth of technology is a new division of labour where work is becoming polarised into expert and routine tasks, a division naturally linked with income levels and career prospects. There is concern that in the long term there will be relatively few well-paid jobs for the new class of elite knowledge workers while a large segment of the labour force faces long-term unemployment.

Futurology offers us several alternative prognoses of social development. Among the most stable has been the forecast of information society. Information society is an image with positive overtones of a new, technologically advanced style of life focused on the production, processing and dissemination of information. When information becomes an increasingly important commodity, cultures are obliged to recast their educational systems and to redefine the content of expertise and competence. But what about the adult population, similarly involved in the new social, economic and educational situation? How will they orient themselves to adult education?

Futurologists have hypothesized that people's actions are guided by their orientation towards the future. The concept of future orientation refers to the anticipations individuals have of changes in their own life and to an anticipatory direction in their actions. A future orientation is constituted by individuals' expectations concerning the future and their coping strategies, whether cognitive, affective or conative. What emerges is a general political debate on the future images of individuals on the one hand and of institution of adult education on the other, a dialogue that leads to choices between alternative images.

Educational systems have built their future images on anticipations of macroeconomic trends. Manpower requirements have been aggregated on the basis of global changes in occupational structure. Anticipations have also been founded on analyses of occupational development in specific branches of industry and in single enterprises. Educational futurology has been rather moderate in its alternative prognoses of how work and education will be organized in the future. The visions of information society proposed by Masuda and Toffler, for example, were in the 1990s ignored in the strategic planning of vocational adult education at least. It was predictable that institutions of adult education would tend to ignore the full implications of most prophecies anticipating the approaching death of industrial culture. It remains to be seen, when the adult education system will have established itself, what kind of images of society, desirable and undesirable, will guide its orientation towards the future.

In Nordic countries the relations between education and work have, at least for a generation, appeared highly complex. The shortcomings and limitations of labour policy planning have taught us to be cautious about oversimplified solutions where job descriptions are translated into types of qualifications and these again into educational levels. In addition, we have also felt that the debate on information society has been too deterministic and too dependent on impulses derived from the economies of the United States and Japan.

Adult people's future orientation is being considered in the frame of reference provided by the constructivist conception of learning. According to constructivism, a learner interprets his or her perceptions of the world on the basis of earlier experiences and prior knowledge, the twin foundations of a continuous process of constructing a view of the world. Thus, adult students' future orientation is assumed to be shaped by their past knowledge and experiences and by their knowledge and perceptions of today's world. From the constructivist perspective, future orientation involves the readinesses of the learning subject - how learners act to achieve their chosen goals, how they assess their experiences, how they become aware and make sense of their surroundings, what is the meaning of action and how learners learn to learn. The constructivist conception of learning helps to explain the observation that adult education polarises the adult population. Those with good basic education actively exploit further education services while those with little basic education do not have much motivation to make use of them.

Future orientation is defined as a readiness comprising a cognitive, affective and conative component, implying a distinction between three types of readiness. Cognitive readiness is the ability to acquire and process information both about one's personal future and about the future of one's immediate surroundings and of the global community. Affective readiness is the ability to attribute emotions to the objects of one's thinking, e.g. acceptance and rejection, interests and expressions of appreciation or respect. Conative readiness is the ability to construct aspirations, beliefs about self-esteem and self-efficacy, interests in and attitudes to learning.

Social Change and Adult Education Research - Adult Education Research in Nordic Countries 1996 discusses in its 13 papers four broad subject areas The contributions do not necessarily give a full picture of the research carried out in Nordic countries but hopefully the four sections on 1) Questions of competence, 2) Evaluating quality, 3) Professional cultures and 4) Learning and trends in adult education provide the reader with a general idea both of the points and issues which interest the Nordic researchers today and of their approach to these problems.

Pirkko Remes

Social Change and Adult Education Research - Adult Education Research in Nordic Countries 1996 discusses the following subjects in 13 papers:

I QUESTIONS OF COMPETENCE
II EVALUATING QUALITY
III PROFESSIONAL CULTURES AND LEARNING
IV TRENDS IN ADULT EDUCATION

ABSTRACTS

I Questions of Competence

Tuija Valkeavaara. 1997. HRD practitioners analysing their work: what does it tell about their present role in working life?

The current work and present role of Finnish human resource development (HRD) practitioners in working life were investigated by means of a survey using a role-based model of job analysis. The findings, derived from the reflections of 164 HRD practitioners on their own work, indicate that these well-educated and experienced practitioners with a great deal of managerial responsibilities see themselves most often as facilitators of organizational change. In general, both their outputs at work and the most important competencies needed in their job support such a role as regards both change agents and also those who see themselves chiefly as designers, managers or learning specialists. The results suggest on the one hand that HRD practitioners are explicitly responding to changes arising from the transformation of working life dictated by the economical trends. On the other hand the results suggest that HRD practitioner's expertise and role as facilitator or expert of new kinds of learning demanded by working life would be a promising subject for further research.

Margaretha Balle-Petersen. 1997. Life competence in a world of change - the production school as an option for unemployed adults.

What would happen, if the Production School concept of broadness and flexibility were to be applied also in the matter of age, by opening the schools to unemployed persons of over 25? By virtue of their unique combination of attention to manual skills, integrated theoretical instruction, cultural education and nurturing of personal life skills, the Production Schools have come to represent a coherent and different form of education a form that has in a special degree the ability to realize a very broad spectrum of learning options for a multitude of participants with different needs and backgrounds.

Could this richness not also accommodate an admixture of slightly older adult participants? Is there really any particular reason why this form of general education, which is based on practical experience and physical presence, should be reserved for the young? Indeed, is it correct and appropriate to

distinguish so sharply between "youth education" and "adult education" in general? And is there not something profoundly unnatural about believing that these general, foundation-laying means of access to knowledge and experience should be the prerogative of the young, and that the requirement of adult working life is exclusively for purpose-oriented and specialized job-related knowledge?

Heidi Engesbak and Odd Helge Lindseth. 1997. Different schools, different priorities.

Motivation has been an important factor in explaining participation in adult education. Houle (1961) developed typology which identifies three types of motivated adult learners; the goal-oriented, the activity-oriented and the learning-oriented. Measuring attitudes towards work, school and leisure among the adult students is relatively new to the field of adult education research but is clearly important. The relevant concepts are the work ethic, the school ethic, and the leisure ethic. The motivations and attitudes of adult students attending the general studies branch in the Norwegian upper secondary school are empirically investigated. Results indicates that different providers attracts adult students with specific motivational and attitudinal characteristics. An investigation which determines if the adult students have different level of motivations and attitudes showed that they differed by which provider they attend.

Glenn Hultman and Alger Klasson. 1997. Learning from change? A note on interactive action research.

At the Department of Education and Psychology at the Linköping university a research project on Change Processes in Small Companies is presently being carried out, aiming at an analysis of change processes, participation and learning. The project, which covers a five year period and collaborates with five companies, is based on our earlier experiences, in particular outwork within a recently concluded action research project with three companies.

During the period between 1990-93 the so-called HDTR-project (Human Development and Technology Renewal) was carried out at the Department for Education and Psychology and at the Adult Education Center at Linköping university. This was financed by the Economic Community s Comet Program, as well as the Redundancy Payments Fund SAF/LO, via the Joint Trade Committee for the Factory Industry (a cooperation body between SAF The

Swedish Employers' Confederation Almega and the Swedish Federation of Engineering workers).

The project aimed at developing educational material and carrying out training courses where the links between competence development and technological renewal was focused upon, mainly for employees in smaller and medium-sized companies in the chemical-technical industry.

Against a background of these and other experiences gained from change research, and the practical work of development in private companies and public organizations, we wish to discuss and reflect upon the attainment of knowledge and change as a phenomenon. We do this within the frame of our research on change work in small companies. The project is financed by the Work Environment Fund.

II Evaluating Quality

Seppo Kontiainen and Jyri Manninen. 1997. Quality of adult learning. Use of conceptual models in describing individual learning processes.

The purpose of this study was to develop a strategy to describe qualities of adult learning processes. The paper introduces the use of Dynamic Concept Analysis (DCA; Kontiainen 1991), in building conceptual models of adult learning processes. The paper includes: (1) the definition of the concepts which are considered central in understanding adult learning processes; (2) relations between the concepts, as defined using the information gathered at long (6 months) continuing education courses (26 courses and 347 students); (3) demonstration of conceptual models in analyses of individual learning processes. An aim is to show, that besides the need to find general models of adult learning, there is also a need to find structured ways to study individual learning processes and to understand differences between individuals. The study confirms the notion that learning is a highly individual process. The same learning situation can be experienced differently and can have different outcome in individual cases. Conceptual models could be considered useful in finding structures for and understanding of individual learning processes as well as positive and negative learning experiences. Simulations with desirable models could be of help, for instance, in course design, in educational planning, and in evaluation.

Kirsten Weber. 1997. The modernization of minds - qualification and adult education in the transformation of the welfare state.

As a general rule public employees in Denmark appreciate continuing education, on-the-job training, etc. Educational measures are appreciated for their dimensions of personal growth, for their opening new paths of carrier - but also quite simply because the jobs in the public sector demand new qualifications. Sometimes, however, the new qualifications demanded by the modernization process are experienced as dequalification. Here are four quotes from teachers and pedagogues.

III Professional Cultures and Learning

Anne-Lise Høstmark Tarrou. 1997. Different access to education and training in mother tongue reinforces differences between professional cultures.

Results from a population inquiry among teachers in trade subjects and teachers in Norwegian, coming from different professional cultures, are discussed with reference to Bourdieu and Passerons theories about the educational system.

The place allocated to the subject of Norwegian as part of general education in teacher education and the importance of the mother tongue as a means for the symbolic mastery of practice, are discussed with reference to results from the inquiry. In doing so, answers to the hypothesis that different access to education in mother tongue reinforces differences in professional status for teachers coming from two different professional cultures, are considered.

Jan Holmer. 1997. Learning in order to control. University education as a support for working people with little formal schooling.

My contribution is a presentation and reflection on the evaluation of work-oriented courses at Göteborg University. The courses were designed for working people, primarily those with little formal schooling.

The evaluation showed that the courses attracted new groups of students, primarily women; the education provided the participants with the opportunity to structure and reflect on their own work experience; - the education, once completed, was of use in the processes of change at the participants' workplaces and in new educational programs; information about the courses was transmitted in a two-stage flow'; many of the participants took the courses on the recommendation of previous participants; almost all wanted to continue with university studies, in particular similar courses.

Given the background of an increasing division of labor, widening gaps and a consequent cultural crisis, I see a need for the type of education discussed here. Many people, both at work and outside it, are losing contact with the whole and lack an overall view which enables them to understand contexts. This leads me to propose the notion of the need for what I term contextual education. This is adult education which is compensatory and selective and which aims at improving the opportunities for the participants to take part in ongoing or planned processes of change. Then I relate this contextual education to the courses covered by the evaluation and draw attention to the type of content and form that is necessary. Finally, I place the need of education in relation to lifelong learning. My conclusion is that adult education of the type I discuss can play a major role in lifelong learning for disadvantaged groups in society. It is true that the educational system only accounts for a small part of all the learning that occurs in a lifelong process. However, seen in terms of fairer distribution, the evaluation shows that effective adult education can play a major role in lifelong learning.

Bengt Petersson and Per Olof Thång. 1997. The challenge to working life education.

This article sets out to briefly present some outline and disclosures of and from a working life education project which was carried out between 1992 and 1995: Learning and Education for an Industry in Transition (LUNO-projektet). The project was initiated by the Gothenburg branches of the Affiliated Trades Union Organization (LO) and Swedish Employers Organization (SAF), in collaboration with the Department of Education and Educational Research at Göteborg University. Behind the initiative of both the above named organizations for making contact with the university, was a shared concern regarding developments in the labor market in the 1990ies, particularly with regard to the situation of short-educated non -tradesmen.

Palle Rasmussen. 1997. Work and learning - the role of practice in training for laundry work.

This article deals with the interaction between training and work in vocationally oriented adult education. I present results from an analysis of a training course for laundry workers, and I focus on different ways in which work and the process of production can be present in the educational process.

IV Trends in Adult Education

Paul N. Gooderham and Sigvart Tøsse. 1997. From philanthropy to deinstitutionalisation: The historical development of the Norwegian adult education system.

This paper traces the evolution of adult education in Norway from its genesis in the early part of the previous century to its current workings. Our main argument is that adult education has passed through three distinctive phases and has now entered a fourth. Each of these phases reflects broader societal developments. After the initial philanthropic phase adult education became one of a number of tools employed in the socio-political struggle between bourgeois and working-class groupings. With the establishment of the welfare state, adult education became institutionalized and was employed as a means of redressing educational inequalities. However, during the early part of the 1980s Norway entered a period of economic contraction which triggered a reduction in state funding of adult education. Subsequent improvements to the national economy have not been employed to restore the position of adult education. As such adult education has arguably entered a fourth phase, one of deinstitutionalisation.

Bjørn-Emil Madsen. 1997. Knowles' andragogy, pedagogy and self-directed learning.

Today, formal educational activities attended by adults span from initial or second chance basic education to university-level vocational training, and full-time university courses. To serve a growing population of adults with relevant educational opportunities, we need more than to provide a network of educational facilities. We are also in need of a suitable and effective teaching technique for adults. One of the best known, and influential theories in adult education, is Malcolm Knowles' (1970, 1980) andragogy, "the art and science of helping adults learn." In fact, Bright (1989) describes Knowles' andragogy as "the jewel in American adult education's crown." The main assumption in Knowles writings is the dichotomy between children as dependent learners and adults as self-directed learners, and the implied dichotomy between andragogy and pedagogy. The purpose of this paper is to provide a critical analysis of Malcolm Knowles' andragogy and its role as a leading principle in the education of adults.

Lars Arvidson and Jorun M. Stenøien. 1997. Knowledge and democracy - old and new social movements as learning environments in the post-war welfare state.

In this article we present a brief overview of theories on social movements and raise some questions for future research. Old and new social movements and their relation to knowledge and democracy are important social issues as well as being of scientific interest. This article focuses on the cognitive praxis of the old and the new social movements, their function as learning environments and to what extent knowledge determine the dimensions along which they operate.

I

QUESTIONS OF COMPETENCE

Tuija Valkeavaara

HRD PRACTITIONERS ANALYSING THEIR WORK: WHAT DOES IT TELL ABOUT THEIR PRESENT ROLE IN WORKING LIFE?

Introduction

Current discussion on human resource development (HRD) indicates that the nature of HRD practices is changing. On the one hand this is due to such new developments as flexible networks, lean production, and an increase in advising and consulting services on the labour market caused by such trends as internationalization, increased use of information technology, and demographical changes in workforce. Another influence is people's expectations of meaningful work and opportunities to use their skills and prior experience as well as organizations' demands for flexible and continuous learning. (Achtenhagen 1994; Kasvio 1994). These developments have led to a situation where, individuals both as employees of their work organizations and as members of society are expected to deal with and manage constant change at individual and collaborative levels (Fullan 1993, 4).

In the current situation attention has also been paid to the work and role of practitioners involved in human resource development, often identified as a special group of adult educators in working life. As a part of adult educational system, the HRD function can contribute in fundamental ways to the transformation of qualifications and potentials of work force. Consequently, to work as a HRD practitioner today is assumed to entail the identification of constantly changing needs for change and learning, the facilitation of workplace learning, and the integration of HRD with the strategic management of the organization (Watkins & Marsick 1992; Brinkerhoff & Gill 1994). However, we have not much knowledge of the present nature of HRD practitioners' work roles and the expertise they are required in their challenging position in the changing working life. This study addressed HRD practitioners' roles, outputs and competencies in order to better understand the nature of their work and professional expertise. The purpose of this article is to present the results of a survey whose aim is to describe HRD practitioners' work and work roles in today's working life in Finland. Additionally, it will be analysed how the changes of working life assumed to be taking place are seen in HRD practitioners' work. The focus of the study was on following questions: 1) what is the nature of HRD work in today's organizations? and 2) how do HRD practitioners respond to changing society and work - do they really act as facilitators of learning or analysts of change in today's world of work, and if they do, how do they accomplish it? The survey was part of an European comparative study of HRD practitioners (de Rijk, Mulder & Nijhof 1994; van Ginkel, Mulder & Nijhof 1994; Odenthal 1996). It applied a role-based model of job analysis (McLagan 1989a).

From deliverers of training to facilitators of learning?

As forecasted in the eighties (Knowles 1985; Marsick 1988a; Mulder 1989), the current mainstream discussion perceives HRD as a kind of umbrella concept for all those both formal and informal learning processes that are meant to facilitate learning and development at work (Marsick & Watkins 1990). Consequently, HRD is seen as an aspect of an organization's human resources strategy concerned with the inner functioning of the organization. In addition to this, HRD is perceived as learning in the workplace, as a part of an adult education system that serves both the individual needs of adult learners and the needs of an organization. This is a clear change in terminology as well as in practices and intentions from the trend in the 1970s and the 1980s, when HRD focused on training delivery and performance improvement through planned and formal training activities. The new forms of developing human resources reflect not only the changes that have reshaped working life but also the changing conception of learning in the workplace and in all educational environments towards constructivistic, experiential, and self-directed learning. They also mirror the current management culture where HRD is now seen to have more strategic value than before. This has led to the extensive use of interventions whose aim is to transform the organization as a whole into a learning organization. This would mean, for example, the introduction of teams and networks, continuous learning and shared visions (Senge 1990). We can ask, however, whether such attempts to develop the learning abilities of organization members are too exclusively management-driven and whether the emphasis lies too much on changes at institutional and instrumental levels, with too little attention being paid to social and cultural levels (cf. Achtenhagen 1994, 207). Problems might occur when both managers and employees - people who do not necessarily have the required capabilities or even possibilities - would have to take responsibility both for their own learning and for supporting the learning of others.

From the HRD practitioner's point of view this would mean taking on the management of HRD functions and acting as an intermediary between different stakeholders or coaching the management and employees instead of delivering traditional training. (Watkins & Marsick 1992; Brinkerhoff & Gill 1994). The critical function for the HRD practitioner may be working "at the edge of things" (Marsick & Watkins 1990, 102) in the role of change agent and using his or her expertise to integrate the idea of learning into all levels of organizational activity. Consequently, HRD practitioners are a group of experts whose role in today's organizations may involve them in working as individuals who make the collective want to learn what is not yet present (Engeström 1992, 17). Thus, the change whose agents HRD practitioners are supposed to be can be perceived here as a transformation of social or organizational structures through the empowerment of learners at all levels of the organization (Marsick & Watkins 1990, 102). Accordingly, HRD practitioners whose special field is learning in working life should encourage individuals and groups to have confidence in themselves as learners rather than foster in them a passive dependency on HRD personnel's activities as organizers of learning.

Where to start an examination of work - an analysis of roles

To be able to understand HRD work and its role in an organization we need to grasp the actual work practices of HRD personnel and the formal knowledge and abilities that they entail. Work done by professional people can be described in terms of the roles that such experts perform. A role comprises a set of closely related behaviours associated with a job and a personal approach to it in specific organizational contexts (Sredl & Rothwell 1987, 57-58; Pace, Smith & Mills 1991, 12-13). Role studies have adopted the methodology of job analysis and focused on describing the activities, behaviours, outputs and competencies needed in a job.

A lot of research on the roles and competencies of HRD practitioners comes from the USA (Pinto & Walker 1978; McLagan & Bedrick 1983; McLagan 1989a; Nadler 1991). Several of these studies were commissioned by ASTD (American Society for Training and Development) and they adopted the perspective of an individual practitioner, that is, they offered individual professionals the chance to reflect on their own work by the aid of a specific theoretical model.

One of the studies sponsored by ASTD was *Models for Exellence* (McLagan & Bedrick 1983), later developed further and expanded in *Models for HRD Practice* (McLagan 1989a; McLagan 1989b). Both studies described HRD work in terms of profiles based on roles (i.e. behaviours and activities), outputs (i.e. the products made and the services provided), and the competencies critical in producing the outputs. According to McLagan's 1989 study (1989a, 54-59) there are eleven different roles related to training and development, organization development and career development (see Table 3) that are typical for HRD work. The outputs and competencies entailed are grouped according to the roles. Accordingly, the competencies involve planning, implementing and evaluating HRD, management and administration, interpersonal communication and information processing. The model was based on a thorough review of the relevant literature and on expert interviews. It viewed HRD as a process where development is the core and where the aim is to improve individual, group and organizational effectiveness. McLagan (1989b, 9-16) pointed out that because HRD is a function rather than a job title, the model presents elements which can be used to characterize HRD work. It has been widely used to describe the work of HRD practitioners in other countries (de Rijk, Mulder & Nijhof 1994; van Ginkel, Mulder & Nijhof, 1994; Lee 1994; Odenthal 1996). In addition, similar studies have been conducted at least in Australia, Canada and Great Britain (Garrick & McDonald 1992). The following figure illustrates the use made of the model in this study:

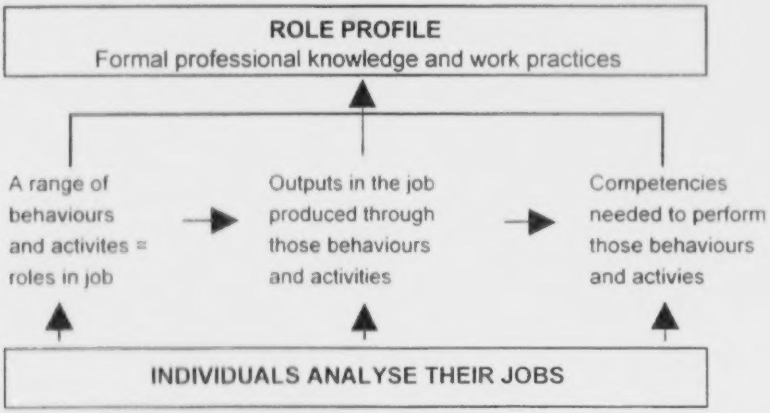
ROLE PROFILE
Formal professional knowledge and work practices
A range of behaviours and activites = roles in job
Outputs in the job produced through those behaviours and activities
Competencies needed to perform those behaviours and activies
INDIVIDUALS ANALYSE THEIR JOBS

Figure 1. Model of job analysis (Adapted from McLagan 1989b, 17)

In sum, the studies of HRD practitioners' work have shown that HRD function can be described as a set of activities aimed at fostering or increasing competencies through training and development, facilitating or otherwise producing change in others, and managing or otherwise carrying out the administrative responsibility for HRD in an organization. HRD is a typical knowledge-rich domain, which makes its content and theoretical background highly multidisciplinary. According to literature (Sredl & Rothwell 1987, 21-25; Gilley & Eggland 1989, 17), adult education has been or at least should be one of the major theoretical contributors to HRD. Consequently, it has provided theories of adult learning and many of the techniques that are used in HRD activities. Since HRD aims at producing changes in human resources and organizations, economics, management studies, psychology, communications, and organization development have also enriched it with their own sets of theories of human behaviour (Sredl & Rothwell 1987, 6-10; Nordquist, 1995, 2-2).

In Finland, attention has been paid to the functions and tasks of HRD work and to the educational background of HRD practitioners, especially in public-sector services (Valkama 1975; Launos & Peisa 1979; Venna & Rautiainen 1990; Suurpää & Valkeavaara 1992). These studies have shown that HRD tasks are very training- and development-oriented and that during the last few decades practitioners have become better grounded in educational and adult educational studies. In addition, some signs of the changing nature of HRD work have emerged in recent studies of HRD work in Finland (Vepsäläinen 1994, 67-72; Filander 1996, 32-73). There is, however, little systematic knowledge on the activities and behaviours or outputs and competencies involved in HRD work, even though need for such knowledge has been pointed out in general discussion concerning adult educators (National Council for Adult Education 1989; Haavio 1994).

Purpose of the study and research questions

To sum up, all the role-based studies of HRD work have produced not only descriptions of role behaviours, outputs and competencies, but have also helped to establish the professional structure and standards of HRD practice and the formal training required for the successful performance of such duties. This has been regarded important especially in the USA, where HRD has been the fastest growing sector of the adult education system. Even though role-based studies have given good definitions of the field of professional practice, role models have paid less attention to the fact that when a role is seen as a personal approach to a job in a certain social structure, individuals' analysis of their work roles could be explained by a combination of individual and organizational factors (Katz & Kahn 1978, 187-197; Sredl & Rothwell 1987, 58-59).

The adoption of a role-based model of job analysis suggested by McLagan (1989a; 1989b), in an investigation of the HRD practitioners in Finland may be justified on several grounds. Firstly, the model not only makes possible both the systematic study of HRD practitioners and the definition of the field of HRD in Finland but also will allow a comparison with other European countries (i.e. the research project "HRD Profession for the 90s" organized by the University of Twente, in the Netherlands). Secondly, the present study is designed to take a step from producing lists of roles, outputs and competencies to analysing such lists for what they may tell us about the current HRD work in different contexts. Thridly, since the very extensive study on which the model is based on was meant to predict the situation of the nineties, it is now possible to test the validity of the model against the actual, though culturally different conditions obtaining today. Fourthly, since this study asks the practitioners themselves to analyse their job-related behaviours, outputs and competencies, the use of this model can serve as a first phase in a future effort to understand the content and nature of HRD expertise in a broader sense. As a result of this self-analytic procedure, HRD practitioners themselves act both as reflective experts in their work and as informants for this study.

This phase of the study thus addressed four main research questions:

1. Who are the people who carry out HRD work in Finland and what kind of is their personal background (educational background and career path) and their organizational work context?
2. Which are the most typical roles, the most commonly produced outputs and the most important competencies involved in the work of a HRD practitioner - what kind of role profiles are to be found among HRD practitioners?
3. How are the practitioners' personal background or their organizational work context related to their perceptions of their work role?
4. What do the results tell us about the assumed transformation of HRD function in working life?

Method

The target population of the study was defined as practitioners involved in the HRD function in different public- and private-sector work organizations in Finland. The subjects (N=699), who received the questionnaire by mail, were selected from two professional associations: all the members of the Association of Trainers in Public Administration (N=238) except those who were also members of the other association studied, and approximately half the members of the Finnish Association for Human Resources Management (N=461). Those who were pretested were left out. Despite the risk of obtaining a biased group, the use of these associations as representatives of the defined target population as a whole was considered a benefit, since the members can be assumed to be people who are involved in HRD and interested in evaluating their own work.

The data reported in this study are based on information provided by 164 respondents to the survey. The total response rate after reminders was 23.5 %, among the members of the Association of Trainers in Public Administration 16.8% and among those of the Finnish Association for HRM 26.9 %. This response rate is common for comparable mail surveys in the research project "HRD Profession for the 90s" which this study is related to. While the number of respondents was relatively small, a study of demographic variables (53 % of respondents were male and 45.7 % female with two respondents providing no information on gender and majority of respondents (59.1 %) were 45-54 years old) in the two groups of informants suggested that they were representative of their associations. Similarly, a comparison between response and non-response groups revealed no significant differences.

The questionnaire employed permitted the investigation of the roles, outputs and competencies linked with HRD work from the HRD practitioners' own point of view. It was also similar, with some adaptations, to the questionnaire used in the European comparative research project "HRD Profession for the 90s" carried out at the University of Twente in the Netherlands. The terms for roles, outputs and competencies were translated into Finnish. The questionnaire was pretested in Spring 1995 by interviewing four Finnish HRD experts and by sending the questionnaire to a pretest sample (N=27) of HRD practitioners.

The data were described and analysed for answers to the research questions using the following methods:

- percentages to describe frequency distributions
- cross-tabulation to describe frequency distributions bewteen the role groups
- the chi-square test to analyse whether personal and organizational background and the most typical outputs are significantly related to the role groups
- one-way analysis of variance and the Sheffe-test to determine whether the role groups significantly differ among themselves in the most important competencies.

Results

Subjects' personal background and organizational work context

Table 1 provides details of respondents' educational background and career path. As can be seen, the level of education among the HRD practitioners who served as informants is mainly of academic level and thus relatively high. Also professional further education seems to play an important role. Economics, law and administrative, behavioural, educational and social studies seem to serve as the most common disciplinary background in HRD work. Most often mentioned further studies were trainer training (32.1 %), education and adult education studies (15.3 %), various HRD courses and programmes (11.5 %) and management development (11.5 %).

These HRD practitioners seem to have long experience both of work in general and of HRD work. Given the relatively advanced age of the respondents (59,1% were 45-54 years) it is likely that several of them have more than twenty years of overall work experience while their experience of HRD is shorter. This is demonstrated also by the number of other tasks in which the respondents had worked: 84.1 per cent of them mentioned having worked in some other tasks (15.9 per cent provided no further details). It seems that most respondents have been active on fields totally different from HRD such as banking, management and production (42.7 %), human resources management (7.3 %) or a combination of these two (6.1 %). Of the tasks mentioned, 15.2 per cent were clearly connected with training, planning, research and development and combinations of it and other fields or HRM (12.8 %).

As can be seen from these descriptions, many of the HRD practitioners studied here have started their careers in fields other than HRD or also worked in other tasks. However, as suggested by the fact that 76.2 per cent of them believed that they would still be engaged in a HRD job in five years' time, the practitioners seem to display a strong professional career orientation, meaning, as defined by Pace, Smith & Mills (1991, 211) and Nadler (1991, 130-137) that they are primarily committed to this particular professional field and seek continuing employment in the field of HRD. Respondents were divided in three position groups according to their relation to the organization: internal full-time practitioners (employed in positions where HRD is the main responsibility), internal part-time practitioners (regular position elsewhere but also assigned to HRD and external practitioners (employed in an organization that provides HRD services or working as an independent trainer or consultant). The strongest orientation to making a career in HRD seemed to be characteristic of practitioners occupying internal full- time HRD positions (chi=7.4, df=2, p=0.02) which confirms Nadler's (1991) categorization of HRD practitioners.

Table 1. Educational background and work experience of respondents.

Educational background	Response group
Level of education	N=163
university degree	82.9 %
post-graduate university degree	6.7 %
Disciplinary field	N=160
social or behavioural, educational	36.6 %
economics, law, administration	40.9 %
natural sciences, engineering	14.0 %
Further education in HRD	N=158
yes	79.9 %
Work experience	**Response group**
Work experience in general	N=163
5-9 years	5.5 %
> 10 years	93.9 %
Work experience in HRD	N=162
< 1 year	0.6 %
1-4 years	5.5 %
5-9 years	20.7 %
> 10 years	72.0 %
Work experience in present job	N=163
< 1 year	6.7 %
1-4 years	26.2 %
5-9 years	36.0 %
> 10 years	30.5 %
Working in HRD in five years' time	N=158
yes	76.2 %

As regards the formal job titles of the internal full-time practitioners, the majority (59.5 %) worked as HRD/training managers or planning officers, while of internal part-timer practitioners 59.4 per cent were employed as executive, project, development, quality, research etc. managers and of external practitioners 51.5 per cent as teachers, trainers or consultants. The position in relation to the orgnization seemed to be related to work content described by job titles (chi=85.3, df=6, p=.000). If a professional career is seen as a path of steps from apprentice to executive positions (Pace, Smith & Mills 1991, 213-220), then the majority of the respondents (66.5 %) seemed to be in the advanced stage characterized by managerial responsibilities. The private sector was better represented (63 %) than the public sector (37 %), while the largest groups of re-spondents came from education and research (23.2 %), manufacturing (17.7 %) and banking and insurance (11.6 %).

Table 2 shows the proportion of working hours spent in HRD tasks and the main tasks by three position groups. The chi-square test of the respondents' positions (internal full-time or part-time employees or external consultants) and the nature of main work tasks and the time spent by them on HRD tasks revealed significant associations. Both practitioners occupying internal full-time HRD positions and external HRD practitioners devoted significantly more of their working hours to HRD tasks than did those working regularly in other than HRD positions (chi=50.1, df=4, p=.000). Internal full-time practitioners worked in tasks related to HRD practices (chi=84.7, df=6, p=.000) more often than the members of the other groups. Job titles, time spent on HRD and main tasks suggest that in general the response group is well representative of practitioners involved in organizational HRD work.

Table 2. Time spent on HRD tasks and main tasks by position (in percentages).

Position	Time spent on HRD tasks			Main tasks[1]			
	< 24%	25-49%	50-100%	HRD	HR	HRM	CT/MD
Internal full-time practitioners (N=76, 47%)	11.8	13.2	75.0	61.8	28.9	3.9	5.3
Internal part-time practitioners (N=33, 20.1%)	65.6	28.1	6.3	9.1	33.3	27.3	30.3
External practitioners (N=35, 22.5%)	22.9	5.7	71.4	25.7	2.9	-	71.4

[1] HRD=development-focused tasks, HR=both HRD and HRM tasks, RM=management-focused tasks, CT/MD=consulting, training and management development

The majority of internal HRD practitioners (55.8 %) came from large organizations (≥ 1,000 employees). This confirms the assumption that larger companies employ people in HRD positions while small companies go more outside for their training and development. The HRD function seems to be performed mainly in HRM departments (48.2 %) - 25.9 per cent of the organizations studied here had a separate training and development department. In many cases there was one full-time HRD practitioner or only a part-timer in the organization (32.7 %) or a group of 2 to 4 practitioners (35.4 %). These figures would seem to suggest that either the HRD function is currently being integrated strategically into overall HRM or that it is still part of HRM without any special strategic considerations being involved. The relatively small number of full-time HRD personnel suggests that their function is to assess needs and plan strategies while the actual formal training is bought from outside providers. he HRD policies of the organizations represented by those surveyed were focused chiefly on training and development, management development and organizational development rather than on career development, human resources planning or the development of job designs.

HRD work perceived through roles

Table 3 provides descriptions of HRD practitioners' work in terms of the roles they occupy. As can be seen, on the whole HRD work seems most commonly to involve influencing and supporting organizational changes (change agent), supporting, managing, marketing and linking HRD work with the organization as a whole (marketer and manager), identifying development needs (needs analyst), designing specific interventions (program designer) and instructing and facilitating learning events (instructor/facilitator). The roles most important in the sense of taking the greatest proportion of working hours were change agent, program designer and manager. With exception to program designer, these roles were also most often perceived as the most important function in other than time-related ways.

Table 3. A description of HRD work in terms of the roles occupied by HRD practitioners

Roles	Prevalence of different roles used in description of work N=160 %	Most time consuming role N=164 %	Most important role N=136	Future role N=94 %
Organizational change agent	77.5	29.9	42.6	30.9
Needs analyst	66.9	3.7	10.3	9.6
Marketer	57.5	6.7	7.4	3.2
Program designer	54.4	22.6	9.6	1.1
Instructor/facilitator	46.3	7.3	4.4	2.1
HRD manager	46.3	13.4	10.3	7.4
Researcher	31.9	1.8	5.9	6.4
Administrator	26.3	7.9	5.9	1.1
Individual career development advisor	19.4	1.2	0.7	6.4
Evaluator	18.8			10.6
HRD materials developer	13.8	1.8	1.5	2.1
Consultative communicator *	7.5	2.4	1.5	1.1
Coach *	3.8			1.1
Reflective practitioner *	3.1	1.2		
No special role mentioned				17.0

* new roles

Explanation of column headings:
prevalence of roles that are considered to best describe the work as a whole;
one role that describes the work on which most working hours are spent;
one role that is particularly important, not necessarily the same as the role taking up most working hours;
and one role which will have more importance in the future

In addition to the roles suggested in the questionnaire, 29.9 per cent of the respondents thought that there were other roles that can be used to describe HRD work. On the basis of their responses three new roles were identified. These included first, the role of a coach which includes coaching, encouraging and supporting individuals and work groups in different stages of work and developmental processe. Secondly, there was a role of reflective practitioner which includes supporting reflective thinking and learning skills at the level of individuals, work groups and the general organization. Thirdly, there was a role consultative communicator which includes mediating between employees and the management and integrating the aims of human resource development and the organization. Compared with the revision of HRD roles recently suggested by McLagan (1996, 64-65), a consultative communicator is similar to human resource strategic advisor and systems designer and developer. The roles of coach and reflective practitioner have similar ingredients as McLagan's organizational change agents and performance consultants. According to results of present study, the role of organizational change agent will remain important in the future while the roles of needs analyst, researcher and career development advisor will become more important or occupy more working hours. These trends future seem to reflect the changing nature of HRD work.

For further analysis the roles describing the work where HRD practitioners spent most of their working hours were grouped in four categories. The categories were formed so as to take into consideration the three biggest groups found in this study and the contents of the role descriptions from McLagan's 1989 study (1989a; 1989b) and her 1996 suggestion for revision. The four groups thus constructed were:

- change agents, n=51, 31,1 % (a combination of organizational change agent and reflective practitioner);
- designers, n=37, 22,6 % (program designer);
- managers, n=50, 30,5 % (a combination of HRD manager, marketer, administrator and consultative communicator); and
- learning specialists, n=26, 15,9 % (a combination of needs analyst, researcher, materials developer, instructor/facilitator, individual career development advisor, evaluator and coach; all roles can be related to different phases of learning/training process).

Relationships between roles and subjects' personal background and organizational work context

The chi-square test was used to examine the four role groups' personal and organizational background. Because there was relatively little data for the test, some categories were amalgamated on the basis of their content in order to increase the reliability of the test. Significant relationships were found between roles and educational background (chi=15.6, df=6, p=.02), roles and sector of working life (chi=8.1, df=6, p=.04), roles and position in relation to the organization (chi=14.2, df=6, p=.03), roles and formal job title (chi=26.1, df=9, p=.002) and roles and main tasks in work (chi=30.7, df=9, p=.000). Consequently, studies in economics, law and administration serve as the common background for change agents and managers and for designers behavioural studies were as common as economics. Learning specialists' background is more often in behavioural studies. The public sector seems to offer HRD settings where the focus is chiefly on program design whereas the private sector tends to focus on supporting organizational change, managing HRD and implementing learning programmes, this seems to indicate the influence of diverse settings on HRD function. Designers and managers were more often as others internal full-time practitioners whereas among the change agents there were more often internal part-time practitioners than in other groups. This may describe that those who are involved in HRD but have also other tasks, may have more holistic view of HRD and more possibilities to regocnize needs for changes. Those who perceived themselves as change agents worked mostly as other types of manager while designers and learning specialists were mostly HRD managers or planners and managers were the actual HRM managers. The main tasks of change agents and designers were most often linked with HRD, while managers' main tasks involved both development and management and those of learning specialists training and consulting. No significant relations were found between the respondents' chosen role and their professional further education, work experience and career orientation, line of business, size of the organization of internal practitioners and HRD's location in internal practitioners' organizations.

One-way analysis of variance showed significant differences in organizational HRD policies between the role groups (F=6.7, df=3, p=.000). The Sheffe-test with significance level of .05 indicated that practitioners who perceive themselves as change agents and managers come from organizations whose HRD policy emphasizes structures and job designs more often than those perceiving themselves as designers. No significant differences were found between the groups with regard to training- and development-focused policies. Overall, these results suggest that HRD practitioners' perceptions of their roles depend more on the content of their job and on general personal and organizational factors than on specific personal and organizational circumstances (cf. Hansen, Kahnweiler & Wilensky 1994, 263).

Outputs and competencies in work

Table 4 presents the overall results concerning key outputs which were produced by two thirds (66 %) or more of the total response group. The focus was in work role where the practitioners spent most of their working time. As can be seen, the products generated and services delivered in HRD work seem to focus on planning and facilitating group and change processes, analysing present and future development needs and establishing the meaning and importance of the HRD function by promoting the idea of HRD.

Table 4. The prevalence of realised outputs in HRD work
(Outputs chosen by 66 per cent or more of the total response group, N=164)

Outputs	%
Recommendations to management regarding HRD systems	78.7
Designs for change	75.6
Teams	75.6
Concepts, theories or models of development or change	74.4
Client awaresness of relationships within and around the organization	74.4
HRD policy	73.8
Presentation of material	73.8
Information on future forces and trends	66.5
HRD long-range plans	66.5

Competencies were defined as pieces of knowledge, skills, understanding and attitudes. As a component of job analysis the investigation of competencies does not attempt to predict job success but, rather, to obtain descriptive information about such individual elements of expertise, assumed to be necessary in the HRD job. As can be seen from Table 5, the competencies perceived most often as very important (valued on a 4-point scale from very important to not important) are clearly related to competencies which are general interpersonal and intellectual skills by their nature (data reduction skills, feedback skills) and to specific competencies based on management and economics (organization understanding). According to the majority of respondents, a successful HRD practitioner needs an advanced expert grasp of all such competencies (valued on a 3-point scale from advanced to basic level) together with the broad understanding and skills required to apply them in practice. Respondents also seemed to be interested in developing themselves in these areas (valued on a 4-point scale from very interested to not interested). These results would appear to suggest that competencies needed in HRD work are related to general abilities and skills which are necessary in identifying, analysing and communicating problems and needs in certain organizational contexts rather than to particular clearly domain-specific knowledge.

The competencies singled out by 60 - 64.9 per cent of the respondents were, similarly, general interpersonal or intellectual competencies. However, some of the competencies were also related to profession-specific competencies closely linked with research on adult education and human behaviour (an understanding of adult learning, mentioned by 64.2 per cent and an understanding of organizational behaviour, mentioned by 61.0 per cent of the respondents). This demonstrates that a theoretical grasp of adult education and human behaviour contributes to the formal knowledge that is applied in HRD practice.

Table 5 .The prevalence of very important competencies in HRD work (Competencies singled out as very important by 66 per cent or more of the total response group, N= 159)

Competency	Very important %	Required at advanced level %	Very interested in developing oneself %
Understanding organizations (Knowing the strategy, structure, power networks, financial position and systems of a specific organization)	73.0	56.7	52.6
Data reduction skill (Scanning, synthesizing and drawing conclusions from data)	69.2	56.7	49.4
Feedback skill (Communicating information, opinions, observations and conclusions so that they are understood and can be acted upon)	66.0	54.8	57.8

Altogether there were eight competencies that 66 per cent or more of the respondents rated as negligible, of little importance or fairly important. The three least important of these were:

- electronic systems skills (having knowledge of the functions, features and potential applications of electronic systems for the delivery and management of HRD);
- records management skills (storing data in an easily retrievable form); and
- an understanding of the theories and techniques of career development (knowing the techniques and methods used in career development; understanding their appropriate uses).

The ratings for an advanced level of expertise needed and for an interest in developing oneself in these competencies followed the same line as ratings of importance. Accordingly, the competencies involved in information processing skills are either not rated as very important or are taken for granted. Strikingly, the importance of understanding career development is rated low, even though it is also regarded as an essential part of current HRD and estimated to become more important in the future.

Typical role profiles

On the basis of roles, outputs and competencies were formed typical role profiles for change agents, designers, managers and learning specialists. The combinations of roles and the most typical outputs, and roles and the most common very important competencies are displayed below in Table 6 and Table 7. The chi-square test showed some statistically significant relationships ($p<0.05$) between outputs and roles. As can be seen, some outputs seem to be grouped according to role as it is suggested in the model, but there are also outputs that are perceived to belong to HRD work regardless of what role is used to describe the work. This suggests that certain special products and services may be grouped according to chosen role. Accordingly, for change agents plans and implementation of change processes, for designers HRD promotion and plans, for managers budgets, financing and strategies and for learning specialists different learning events. The common content of HRD work seems to comprise products and services related to change and developmental designs of organizations.

Of the three competencies which were most often rated very important by members of the total response group, organization understanding and data reduction skills are the same irrespective of the roles, even though 66 per cent of respondents in every role group did not single them out as can be seen from table 7. There are also some statistically significant differences ($p<0.05$) with regard to very important competencies. One-way analysis of variance revealed significant differences in single competencies between the role groups in feedback skills, business understanding, coaching skills, adult learning understanding, group process skills, intellectual versatility and organization behaviour understanding. The Sheffe-test with significance level of .05 indicated differences between change agents and managers, change agents rating intellectual versatility (i.e. recognizing, exploring and using a broad range of ideas and practices) and organization behaviour understanding more important than managers. This demonstrates the special character of a change agent's work. Both change agents and managers rated business understanding more important than designers did and for learning specialists coaching skills were more important than for managers. Consequently, also these differences seem to indicate special nature of each role group's work.

*Table 6. Relationships between the most typical outputs and the role groups (Outputs that at least 66 per cent of the respondents either in only one role group or in every role group attributed to their role where they spent the most of their working hours, distributions in percentages according to original prevalence of realised outputs, outputs marked with *** belong to the role according to the model)*

Outputs	Change agents n=42-49	Designers n=35-37	Managers n=43-48	Learning specialists n=22-26	p
Resolved conflicts for an organization or groups	74 ***	43	56	54	**.040**
Changes in group norms, values, culture	77 ***	42	50	71	**.012**
Plans to implement organizational change	88 ***	47	64	65	**.001**
Implementation of change strategies	86 ***	53	67	65	**.012**
Sales and business leads	72	34	70	58	**.002**
Data analysis and intepretation	84	58	71	64	.072
HRD promotional and informational material	47	72	57	61	.144
Plans to market HRD products, services and programs	55	76	67	60	.239
Resource acquisition and allocation for HRD	53	49	73 ***	46	.059
HRD department strategy	63	54	76 ***	61	.244
HRD budgets and financial management	43	50	75 ***	44	.091
Program/intervention designs	73	68	70	55	**.019**

(continues)

Table 6 (continues)

Facilitations of structured learning events	58	60	30	73 ***	**.002**
Facilitation of group discussions	56	40	18	69 ***	**.000**
Feedback to learners	43	51	48	77 ***	**.043**
Client awareness of relationships within and around the organization	80 ***	75	85	72	.509
Designs for change	92 ***	69	77	87	**.047**
Recommendations to management regarding HRD systems	84 ***	72	89	88	.204
Concepts, theories or models of development or change	82	72	74	88 ***	.392

Table 7. The most important competencies in HRD work by the role group (Competencies that at least 66 per cent of the respondents either in one role group or in several role groups rated very important in their role, distributions in percentages)

Competencies	Change agents n=47-49	Designers n=35-37	Managers n=48-49	Learning specialist 23-25	p
Organization understanding	**84**	58	**80**	60	.062
Data reduction skills	**74**	**72**	63	**68**	.434
Feedback skills	**74**	56	59	**80**	**.039**
Adult learning understanding	59	**75**	51	**84**	**.026**
Business understanding	**71**	39	**74**	56	**.015**
Organization behaviour understanding	**82**	61	45	52	**.001**

(continues)

Table 7 (continues)

Group process skills	**71**	61	47	**76**	**.026**
Intellectual versatility	**69**	56	47	52	**.018**
Coaching skills	51	36	37	**68**	**.017**
Self-knowledge	49	50	43	**68**	.103
Visioning skills	**67**	58	65	60	.367

Discussion

The purpose of this article was to present the results of a survey aimed at describing the work carried out by Finnish HRD practitioners in today's working life by analysing the roles, outputs and competencies involved in a HRD job. In general, the results indicate that Finnish HRD practitioners studied here are well-educated and experienced people with a great deal of managerial responsibilities. At the level of roles they see themselves most often as facilitators of organizational change. It seems to be typical of HRD work that its focus lies more on changing and developing organizations than on the actual delivery of training. One possible conclusion is that this reflects, as expected, the current situation in working life and the concomitant challenges facing HRD. In addition, the present situation in working life could also be seen in the data, since a third of the respondents thought that their work could be described by roles other than those suggested by the model. These new roles reflected clearly the current discussion on the situation in HRD work (McLagan 1996) and the emerging transformation of the organizations into learning organizations. The respondents' estimates of the growing importance of the roles of needs analyst and evaluator similarly demonstrate this process of organizational transformation. On the basis of the results it is difficult to draw conclusions about the strategic importance of HRD, but the frequency of managerial positions and responsibilities among the respondents may conceivably indicate the integration of HRD into general/human resource management.

When the results are viewed mcre specifically at the level of roles, four different groups which reflect the main areas of HRD work found in previous studies may be distinguished: change agents, designers, managers and learning specialists. It was found that general educational background, job content and general characteristics of the organizational work context were related to the way in which the work was perceived in terms of roles. Change agents seemed to typically come from private-sector organizations and have behind them a variety of managerial responsibilities where the emphasis, however, has been on actual HRD tasks. This seem to indicate the influence of organizational settings on the nature of HRD work (Marsick 1988b; Pace, Smith & Mills 1991, 14-15). Behavioural sciences were a central element of the respondents' educational background only among the learning specialists while for others the most typical background discipline was economics, law or administration. Professional further education, different aspects of career orientation and development and specific characteristics of organizational context appeared to have no significant relation to perceived work role. Even though the main role groups seemed to differ to some extent in their background and profiles as regards outputs and competencies, the competencies which were rated most often as very important in the total response group were the same regardless of role. The variation in the educational background and in the competencies assesed as most important indicated the expected multidisciplinary nature of HRD work. By contrast, the results did not confirm the assumed importance of knowledge of adult education as central and general ingredient of HRD practitioners' professional knowledge, but with regard to further professional education such knowledge seemed to have relevance.

In terms of the most typical outputs and the most important competencies, the results would appear to confirm HRD practitioners' role as change agents. It should be noted that outputs which seem common to all regardless of role were mainly outputs of a change agent. Those outputs involved more the provision of information services than countable, concrete products. The most important competencies, those of understanding of organizational strategies and structures as well as the capacity to communicate and collaborate also seemed to reflect the role of a change agent. These competencies are according to Fullan (1993, 12-18), essential in change agentry. In addition, intellectual versatility and organization behaviour understanding as very important competencies especially for change agents indicate nature of change agentry. This foundation was reinforced by a strong professional orientation to HRD, the perceived importance of and interest expressed in further professional development and the perceived requirements for an advanced level of expertise in these core competencies. These results would appear to reflect the transformation of work organizations into learning organizations or at least an attempt to bring it about. We should ask, however, whether these results mirror learning organizations emerging only on the conditions dictated by economical conditions or whether actual new learning challenges are also involved. Results showed that for example knowledge of adult learning and understanding career development were not rated among the most important competencies. In terms of important roles instructing, facilitating of learning and supporting reflective thinking were mentioned as most time-consuming roles only by a minority among the respondents. Also, the most typical outputs seem to be related more to planning activities than to actual learning outcomes.

The USA-derived model used in the study (McLagan 1989a; McLagan 1989b) seemed to serve as a valid tool for examining Finnish HRD practitioners. It provided clear and comparable descriptions of current HRD work in terms of roles, outputs and competencies. The used model also allowed some of the outputs and competencies to be grouped according to roles as they are presented in the model. At the same time, however, some outputs and competencies were found to be shared by all respondents regardless of role. This seem to indicate the limitations of this model: HRD practitioners' work cannot be described accrding to one role. In addition, the method also allowed new roles to be revealed which clearly reflects the new demands of HRD work.

It should be noted that the data on which this study is based is limited to 164 Finnish HRD practitioners representing two professional associations, and that we should consequently be very careful when generalizing from the findings. The low response rate may be due to difficulties in defining the target population as a whole because of the lack of common job titles and formal training. Those who received the questionnaire may also have found filling it too time-consuming or they may simply have felt baffled by an analysis of their work based on roles, outputs and competencies. However, descriptive results presented here offer some insight into the nature and expertise of HRD work as well as the role of HRD practitioners in Finnish working life. Further analysis of existing data and the next phase of the study may shed more light both on the role of change agent and on the nature and content of the expertise required in HRD work. Asking next what is its purpose and foundation may enable us to find resources and tools for the further development of the practice and of the expertise in HRD.

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Margaretha Balle-Petersen

LIFE COMPETENCE IN A WORLD OF CHANGE - THE PRODUCTION SCHOOL AS AN OPTION FOR UNEMPLOYED ADULTS

Introduction

What would happen, if the Production School concept of broadness and flexibility were to be applied also in the matter of age, by opening the schools to unemployed persons of *over* 25? By virtue of their unique combination of attention to manual skills, integrated theoretical instruction, cultural education and nurturing of personal life skills, the Production Schools have come to represent a coherent and different form of education a form that has in a special degree the ability to realise a very broad spectrum of learning options for a multitude of participants with different needs and backgrounds.

Could this richness not also accommodate an admixture of slightly older adult participants? Is there really any particular reason why this form of general education, which is based on practical experience and physical presence, should be reserved for the young? Indeed, is it correct and appropriate to distinguish so sharply between "youth education" and "adult education" in general? And is there not something profoundly unnatural about believing that these general, foundation-laying means of access to knowledge and experience should be the prerogative of the young, and that the requirement of adult working life is exclusively for purpose-oriented and specialised job-related knowledge?

These thoughts have now been put to the test in a three-year experiment carried out in 1993-95 at the Production School in Svendborg, Denmark, in collaboration with the Danish Federation of Trade Unions and local employers' and workers' organisations, and with the financial support of the Danish Directorate General for Employment, Placement and Vocational Training and the EU Social Fund. The outcome was encouraging. It emerged that the integration of the young with the adults emphasises and strengthens the *general* raising of qualifications for work. Apart from specific information on how the 95 adult participants fared with regard to entry into continued training or finding work, the experiment yielded a detailed insight into the mutual enhancement of "soft" qualifications which the adult and the young participants received from each other. Horizons were broadened and social capacity increased, and this has a beneficial effect on a person's morale and opportunities in the labour market. A beneficial by-product of the experiment was the *young* participants' thoughtful encounter with the - unfamiliar - experience of being together on a daily and informal basis with older people. The present article is based on a more detailed report(l) published by the Danish Research and Development Centre for Adult Education, which has been observing the experiment throughout the last year.

What is a production school?

Production Schools (Act No. 449, 1995), which represent a new form of education that has appeared and developed in the past fifteen years or so, were established as means of combating unemployment among young people aged 15-25. Combined education/training and production programmes are offered. Participants do practical work and at the same time receive theoretical instruction. The objective is to improve the participants' educational opportunities and job prospects. The target group is young unemployed people who have no further education and who show little motivation to get started. With their roots in the traditions of Danish "folkeoplysning" (popular enlightenment and education), Production Schools do not prepare participants for examinations. The aim is to help the individual build up and develop a solid personal competence which can be used in further education or in a job situation. Production Schools do not have fixed course commencement and finishing dates; instead participants are admitted and leave throughout the year. This has contributed to the good results: approximately 60 per cent of participants start on a course leading to specific qualification or in a job directly after leaving the Production School.

There are just under 120 Production Schools in Denmark, and in the course of a year approximately ten to twelve thousand participants attend them for varying lengths of time. Participation is free. An allowance is paid by the public authorities in the form of supplementary benefits.

Navigare necesse est / the need to navigate

We are living in a world of change, and this means that it can be difficult to keep up, to keep oneself informed and to be equal to the situation. It is not only vocational/technical qualifications that become inadequate. Social orientation and confidence in one's own manoeuvring skill and fundamental ability to navigate in life are also affected. It has become a common experience in our time for a person to switch tracks and follow a new line in his or her working life. This usually requires obtaining a fresh orientation and acquiring new knowledge and skills. But about what? And how?

It is common to think solely in terms of *qualification processes* that can be easily seen and monitored, and to focus on job-directed training and re-training. However, everyone knows from his or her personal experience that something else is needed too. We know that the competence that is the basis of the ability to support oneself consists of many components. We also know that these things are parts of a whole. For we well know that our basic school knowledge, our knowledge of our own field of work and our vocational/ technical qualifications are not worth much in practical everyday life unless they go hand in hand with our self-awareness, our ability to work together with others, and our social, physical and behavioural qualifications. But this *life training is* often acquired through unpredictable and hidden processes that cannot be directly observed. For that reason it is not taken into account. In a time of change, we as adults also need to receive life training for our personal development *as well as* job-directed training. We need the whole - the whole that has been called *life competence* (Thøisen 1990).

There is something to suggest that precisely the Production School might have special possibilities for these two types of accomplishments to be acquired simultaneously in a fertile mutual interaction. Therefore precisely this type of education ought to afford very special possibilities for raising the qualifications of unemployed adults. Being put out of work is something that severely erodes a person's life competence. It follows that in that situation the balance between the different fundamental bracing forces is in need of adjustment. However, learning and assimilating experience are for many people so closely linked with the physical processes of a working life that the necessary updating of life competence cannot take place if it is exclusively attempted on an abstract intellectual plane that is isolated from the hidden cognitive mechanisms of the work context. It is precisely the possibility of renewing the essential competence within a context that includes the working rhythm of ordinary life, that the Production School has to offer. The hidden *life training* development processes thereby receive (unseen) favourable conditions in the shelter of processes of qualification that can be seen and monitored.

An entirely different purpose

The observer who has had the opportunity of studying Production School life over an extended period can confirm that thanks to its cross-sector approach, the Production School has completely different possibilities to offer compared with more traditional schemes aimed at activating unemployed adults. At the same time it is not difficult to see that the different linkage of learning and other areas of life can easily block appreciation of the possibilities implicit in the approach. Many unemployed people who have heard of the opportunity have no doubt rejected it because it represents a sort of cultural confusion - a mixing of things that ought to be kept separate - an unwelcome break with tradition.

One former participant - who said that he himself had benefitted enormously from his time at the Production School - related how he had tried hard to recommend others of his own age to go there, but without success. None of them had wanted to, or dared to. The reasons he hinted at had to do with the fact that while attending the School the adult participants "only" received the State support that they would have been entitled to in any case as unemployed persons. At the School you had to produce things without getting anything for it.... An alien thought. This reveals that many unemployed people cannot accept the intermixing of school (we know what that is) and work (and we know what that is too). The scheme represents a sort of disorder - scab work. A similar attitude had the general effect that many of the adult participants were extremely cautious about accepting too prolonged or too many periods of practical training placement. They did not want to be in a position where they could be accused of working for nothing.

Yes, Production School is a place that's different. If nothing else, people can see that when they arrive. You could say that the first requirement for being able to start at the School at all is the ability to accept a certain form of boundary-transcending differentness. For some people the thing that seemed most unfamiliar was no doubt the mixing together of age groups, *being together with the youngsters.* Others could not cope with the "disorder" they encountered in the disciplines taught. The subject content is not unambiguous. You can certainly learn to sew in the Textile Department - but what you get is not a tailor's training. *It's other things that we attach importance to.* The aim of the Music Department is not primarily to train musicians - even though it certainly happens that some young participants go on to study at the Conservatory. The important thing is that *music has certain characteristics that can be applied more generally.... And that is what we endeavour to work at indirectly.* Each one of the Production School' s departments holds many different possibilities for absorption and learning. What it's about, say the staff, is *getting a development process started.*

One participant summarised the whole matter in his comment on another participant's brief attendance: *He didn't stay long either, because he just couldn't stand seeing those slovenlyyoungsters. But other people really like being together with them.* This explanation points to a basic difference of temperament. One type "turns off" in relation to cultural confusion, while the other "enters into it" because it holds challenge and inspiration.

In brief

The experiment at the Production School in Svendborg had a total of 95 adult participants. They were strikingly evenly distributed between the sexes. With regard to age, half the participants were in their thirties and a good quarter in their forties. Two thirds of the remaining quarter were aged between 25 and 30, and one third were between 50 and 60. The participants' periods of attendance varied widely, from the very short right up to eighteen months. The numbers of participants aged over 25 based in each of the School's ten departments were: Textile, 19; Agriculture, 13; Food, 10; Metalwork, 10; Carpentry/Joinery, 10; Multimedia, 9; Video, 8; Clerical, 7; Music, 6; and Theatre, 3.

Interestingly enough, no direct relationship can be shown between length of attendance and the likelihood of afterwards obtaining work or entering a course leading to a specific qualification. The explanation is, no doubt, that individuals' rates of development differ. Moreover, the School's combination of general and vocational learning options gives the opportunity to acquire a - more or less wide - range of different forms of competence simultaneously. For example, studies in music can be combined with pedagogical experience with a view to subsequent entry to a socio-educational course, while at the same time general cultural and social competences are being acquired. The latter process typically involves a broadening of horizons, a greater preparedness for change and greater social capacity, but all built on a foundation of work and a daily routine with the rhythm of the workplace.

New tasks, new viewpoints and new people - work, general and social challenges become part of a daily routine inside normal working hours. Some participants experience a rapid development towards greater openness, whilst others need the developmental leaps to be embedded in a longer steady period of participation. Participants do not always see the full breadth of the acquired competence themselves, but often register the *life training* they have undergone - though as a rule not until a point towards the end of their time at the School or after they leave - partly as a personal development in the direction of strengthened independence and identity (*I dare to have more faith in myself - I have more self-confidence and sense of self-worth*), and partly as an enhancement of their social skills *(I have become more open and less reserved).*

The length of attendance as well as the result must therefore necessarily be seen in relation to the individual participant's own perspective on life. Much suggests that the qualifications gained by the participants are "durable." In April 1996, a total of 47 per cent of the participants are in work (of these, 3 8 per cent are in ordinary work), while seven percent are in training. Four per cent are still attending the School. The remaining 42 per cent are receiving one or another form of State support.

Many advantages

The experiment was very highly regarded, both by the young and by the adult participants. Three quarters of the participants aged over 25 said unequivocally it was a good idea. The instructors' response was unanimous: If the choice were theirs, none of them would prefer to return to having only young participants. The fact that one in ten participants answered with a plain "No, it is *not* a good idea," is principally due to the young people's less serious attitude and too low pace, factors which can reduce the more mature participants' opportunities to gain in terms of job-related skills. But the young were all for it. They see no drawbacks and think it is exciting to mix people. *Give it a chance! Try it for yourself!* is their advice. *Be glad if it happens to you!* is what they tell other young people.

The advantages that the adult participants particularly point to in the Production School form are:

1. *The "getting-you-started" element.* The Production School can be a good option in a time of unemployment, because it can give an opportunity to consider a change of course: for example, to try out or to go further with an old field of interest. It can get people started and give them self-confidence.

2. *The broadening of horizons. By* virtue of its wide range of subjects and its atmosphere deriving from the tradition of that unique institution of popular enlightenment and education, the Danish Folk High School, the Production School has something to offer that is different from "ordinary courses." The

changing and heterogeneous mix of participants with regard to social background, ethnic origin and age can create a greater understanding of and respect for people who are differently situated - an understanding that can also shed light on the participant's own situation by setting it in perspective. *3. The special social dynamic that age integration creates.* This was probably what the parties involved found most surprising. It appears that prolonged close association and cooperation with people belonging to a younger or older generation has gradually become so rare in our contemporary age-divided society that to experience it can be something new and mind-broadening in itself. The presence of the adult participants at a Production School can thus give a *double benefit:* on the one hand, the enhancement of their own qualifications, and on the other, the beneficial effect that being with them has on the young. A certain - not too small - proportion of participants over 25 years old in the Production School can thus raise the level both in the separate disciplines and in general.

Dialogue

The Production School's departments are a favourable environment for discussion and dialogue. There are opportunities to talk together both formally and informally. *We begin with coffee when we arrive in the morning, and then there is also a coffee break from 9.40 until 10 o'clock. And then we finish the day with a cup of coffee too.* That gives many opportunities to seize a topic "on the wing." As a rule it happens in a very spontaneous way. *Sometimes we grasp a topic,* says one of the instructors, *when we can sort offeel that here is something that interests them. Something that has happened, or a pressing issue. In those cases we just debate it through to the end, and then we go on with the work.* The presence of the adult participants has given these shared discussions a new excitement and breadth. Different angles are brought in. Both young and old have discovered that it is an interaction that leaves a mark. The good discussions and the tough confrontations create both a wider horizon and a greater social capacity.

There have been adult participants on whom it has dawned that a point cannot be won by *using a great many words and talking the others down.* Nor does a retort such as: You *don 't know anything about that, you are simply too young,* cut any ice. Cultural worlds are in collision. Offensive jokes - *male chauvinist of the very worst sort* - fall completely flat. If a person finds that *there wasn't anyone who found it the least bit amusing, and afterwards he was actually quite unable to make any contact with the girls at the table,* he perhaps begins to tread a little more carefully. *To be completely shunned, to be left each time to feel the others' coldness as the silence spreads* - that can be terrible, but at the same time it can make a person better qualified in the labour market. Reality contains a multitude of level differences, which the participants have been given daily opportunities to practise handling.

Discussions have been provoked. Good discussions. For example, can a person expect to be embraced and given lifelong security by a trade union? Some of the older participants think so. And is it right to believe that the social security system will always have a slot for you? Some of the younger participants think so. And then there are others, who think that you *surely ought to take responsibility for that yourself!*

A demanding process

The general experience of the project management shows that the recruitment process demands a great deal of time - especially where the launch of a new educational option, which requires the establishment of a new, informal and direct network of contacts surrounding the intake process at "middle manager" level, is concerned. Moreover, the longterm unemployed often lack self-confidence and mental energy, and therefore need to be motivated to this different form of educational activity by means of extra counselling / personal contact. Of course, this can also take place on a private basis, via the grapevine or personal recommendations. Over half the participants interviewed had had some kind of personal link with the Production School before their period of attendance. Half the participants pointed to the role of the Employment Service or a trade union in connection with their recruitment.

Do any special changes need to be made at the Production Schools to gear them to take adults? The experiment also contained a component of development work on the compilation of special course modules and joint activities for the adults. However, it was found in practice that it was the "Production School concept" - that particular way of linking things together - that was the key element for adult participants too. That is what has to be adapted, as far as is necessary, to the over-25s. Special activities for the adult group can have the effect of an inspiring and identity-building "shot in the arm," but in excess they can sunder participants from the fellowship of the department and the relevant field, and, ultimately, turn the adults' participation into "a course that happens to be held at a Production School," that is to say a product that is no longer distinct from the others on offer in the market. It is a matter of finding the right balance.

The instructors in the ten departments fall into two main groups with respect to the experiences they relate. On the one hand are those who did not - to any great extent notice different demands or conditions. On the other hand are those who tell of sometimes demanding educational tasks. The adult participants are more responsible, but they also make higher demands in respect of the work tasks they are set. Clashes - sometimes sharp - have also been observed in several departments between the differing norms of "workplace culture" and the characteristic "Danish Folk High School ethos" at the Production School. This was most marked in the case of the Textile Department, which took 20 per cent of the participants - all women. Indubitably one of the causes of the difficulties was that many of these participants - who were previously employed in the textile industry - did not choose a department where the subject-matter would have presented them with a definite challenge. They were in fact seeking not challenge but confirmation, and when they found that "the world was upside down," or in other words, was different from what they knew or could imagine, they reacted with anger. Some avoided the challenge that the encounter with the alternative form of education offered, whilst others, who bore it longer, had to admit that they came to value the alternative world order.

The learning process that some instructors in particular underwent in the teaching of adults was to a high degree concerned with authority. One aspect of this is how to "put adults in their place" so that they do not "take over". Adults find it harder to accept that they might need "to be criticised", and they also sometimes find it hard to accept that they are not always "much better" than the younger people. On the other hand, the instructors reported no problems at all with the teaching of adults where the special instruction in Danish language, mathematics and computing was concerned. This more theoretical instruction is interestingly enough the point in which the young people and the over-25s differ least! This part of the instruction was praised even by participants who were sharply critical of the School generally. Here they could find the absorption and concentration that was lacking for them in their respective departments.

The instructors' advice can be summarised as follows: The experiment was a beneficial experience and many good things happened. The unplanned benefit of the meeting of young people and adults is a special bonus. Therefore we recommend others to try it out in practice for themselves. The alleged cleft between teaching young people and teaching adults is not so great! In practice, you can see that it functions well. The age-difference has no other significance than that it is a benefit for both sides. *It works really well. It simply works! That's the great thing about it.* The best way of meeting the young is to treat them as practically adult. The whole secret lies in not regarding the participants as weaker than oneself. It is important to be ourselves as people - even though we take on a professional role. For that reason the first thing is to consider what your image of participants is! If your image is of people in need of your care, you should stay away from the adult unemployed.

In a future context

The experiment suggests that the Production Schools, which arose as a response to the particular needs of young people, have developed into something different and something more: a form of general education that can satisfy very different individual needs. As I see it on the background of a good ten years' involvement with the results of experimental work in the field of popular enlightenment and adult education, the Production School seems to be a surprisingly modern form of education. The "modernity" lies precisely in its marked flexibility:

- Continuous admission, allowing entry and leaving times to be fitted to the individual participant's situation and further plans;
- Completely built-in personal guidance, where both instructor and counsellor are part of the immediate daily routine;
- The "bridge building" aspects, including placement for practical training and combination with other types of course;
- The basic combination of practical instruction and work;
- The built-in opportunities for taking an individualised theoretical study component;
- The balance between regard for the individual and the strong emphasis on the communal, that which the individual is a part of: the department, the mealtime fellowship, the school community;
- The combination of elements planned by educators and elements that arise spontaneously - that grow out of the situation itself.

It is my assessment that here we are actually seeing a future model for the qualificationraising of unemployed adults.

Whilst what the majority of other establishments provide is very managed and purposeoriented, the Production Schools really can offer something completely different navigation instruction "on the high seas" that is at the same time both individually tailored and oriented towards enhancing the individual's ability to function as part of a larger community. Whilst the starting-point for other qualification-raising schemes is the idea of formal qualification, the Production School insists on developing both sides of life competence in parallel.

From the trade unions' point of view, the special nature of what the Production School has to offer is seen to lie in the opportunity to gain a broader life competence. *The Production School builds character in a different way.* The participants acquire *a greater sense of self-worth.* They become *more independent.* They are *much more self-reliant* and *capable in quite a different way* after attending. A conventional course - whether eight or 36 weeks long - does not have the same character-building effect in the long term. The Production School *opens up the participants' world in a different way. You become a different, perhaps more complete, person.* Lastly, the Production School holds *completely different possibilities* because it lies a little outside the established hierarchical system of courses and qualifications. *It exists as an institution in its own right.* That is another reason why it is an especially flexible option. A period of attendance at the Production School is especially suitable for our weakest members, say the unions, pointing to the special value of life training as a foundation preparatory to a conventional course. By its form the Production School can give personal support and imbue the participants with *certain human qualifications that have the effect of giving them the courage to take other courses.* The Production School is an open opportunity that can be used in a specific situation.

There is also every indication that the "product" that has come out of the experiment in the form of life competence for adults in a changing situation, is of a high grade. Thus it appears that the life competence that the individual participant can obtain from attending the Production School has effects that are more far-reaching than motivation of the person to find his or her way successfully into a (new) training course or job.

Several comments from former participants suggest that the improvement of their qualifications is of a lasting character and can contribute to keeping the individual in work. One middle-aged participant who attended the Production School after a prolonged period of unemployment, tells about the multifaceted benefits of his time at the Production School that he enjoys at his new workplace and ends by saying: *Do you know what? When I got work again and came here... it was completely all right! I had no problems! I used to before, when there was something new. But after I'd been at the School, I had* *none. It was just as though I could simply walk into it. And I think that's something to be pleased about.*

From the point of view of educational policy, the experiment thus points to the value and necessity of our "qualification-raising systems" having several parallel tracks, with alternative freer options thriving alongside the courses that concentrate more strictly on particular vocational disciplines. The Production Schools could be imagined in a future context as places where a live exchange of experience took place between people who would otherwise normally find themselves compartmentalised by age or occupation.

One reflection in conclusion. Today one can easily get the impression that education and training are not only usually, but also increasingly, planned and targeted at defined age groups and with defined objectives in view. In the context of educational policy there is a trend for individual course modules to be made as simple, unambiguous and "efficiently" target-oriented as possible. It then becomes very easy to take a view on their usefulness. The matter takes on an entirely different complexion if the whole point of the educational form concerned is that substantial parts of it should be allowed to grow in fertile obscurity, with many smooth transitions between work tasks and roles.

Many participants actually experience this same problem. They find it difficult to assess the benefit they received. There can be something unresolved and - in relation to a traditional concept of what one is "supposed to" learn at a school or on an adult training course - also something "wrong" about feeling that the general benefit derived from participating in the fellowship at the School weighs more heavily than the direct vocational training. That such contact can in fact yield a benefit that will be useful at work in the form of life competence is a highly instinctive knowledge that belongs to the "hidden" plane. In the participants' understanding, such a form of life competence is not seen as a "legitimate" benefit. The adult participants do not foresee the experience of fellowship profiting them in their working lives.

In that way the benefit is completely in accord with the mode of learning. The hidden benefit must be a natural consequence of the hidden agenda. What should it be called? *Real life training perhaps,* says the Head of the Food Department. *Or fellowship training.*

Literature

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Heidi Engesbak and Odd Helge Lindseth

DIFFERENT SCHOOLS, DIFFERENT PRIORITIES

Introduction

The main purpose of this article is to investigate if the motivations and attitudes of adult students differ based on which provider of upper secondary education they attend. Investigating the level of motivations and attitudes among adult students is clearly relevant to adult education research due to the fact that the motivations and attitudes of individuals to a certain degree do affect the actual behavior of individuals (Wollack et al. 1971; Knutsen 1985; Furnham 1990). Focusing on different providers of upper secondary education in the adult education system seems also relevant due to the fact that many Norwegian educational institutions are undergoing rapid institutional changes (cf. NOU 1988, 28; NOU 1991, 4; Aamodt and Arnesen 1995). If certain providers in upper secondary education do attract certain student groups with a certain level of motivations and attitudes towards school and learning, this information can be useful for policy making concerning adult education.

Motivation has been an important factor explaining participation in adult education. Houle (1961) developed a typology which identifies three types of motivated adult learners; the goal-oriented, the activity-oriented and the learning-oriented. Several researchers have developed and used this typology in further theory-making and empirical research (cf. Rubenson 1975; Skaalvik 1979; Nordhaug 1986; Gooderham 1993). When measuring attitudes towards work, school and leisure it seems relevant to use operationalizations of the work ethic concept (cf. Weber 1973; Furnham 1990), the school ethic concept (cf. Engesbak and Lindseth 1995), and the leisure ethic concept (cf. Buchholz 1976; Furnham and Rose 1987). All three of these measures of attitudes could be said to be measures of attitudes *"regarding how people acquire their money and spend their time"* (Furnham and Rose 1987, 561).

In this article we will empirically investigate the motivations and attitudes of adult students attending the general studies' branch in the Norwegian upper secondary school. We will be investigating how goal-oriented, activity-oriented and learning-oriented the adult students are, and the level of work ethic, school ethic and leisure ethic the adult students reports. Focusing on the fact that different providers attracts adult students with specific characteristics, we will investigate whether the adult students have different level of motivations and attitudes depending on which provider they attend. It should be stressed that the motivations and attitudes may cause a students choice of a particular type of provider, but the motivations and attitudes of a student may also be effected by the type of provider attended.

Providers of upper secondary education in Norway[1]

There are numerous providers of upper secondary education in Norway, most of them are public. In this article we will focus upon six different types of providers; (i) The county municipal education, (ii) The county municipal adult education, (iii) Resource- og competence-centres, (iv) Job centres, (v) The private parallel to the county municipal education, and (vi) The voluntary educational associations. The first four providers are public providers, while the two last ones are private providers. To describe in detail the entire upper secondary education system of Norway is not our purpose here. Rather our focus is on the general studies branch of the Norwegian upper secondary education which secures admission to higher education. The qualifications for higher education in Norway consist of two components (i) completed three years of upper secondary education, irrespective of area of study, and (ii) a minimum level of achievement in 6 subjects[2] 35 periods per week. Adults who are 23 years of age or older and who have at least five years work experience, or who have five years combined work- and education experience are qualified for higher education by proving a minimum achievement in these six subjects (NOU 1991, 4). Table 1 presents an overview of the organizational differences between these six providers[3] which all offer the general studies branch.

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[1] For further discussion see Engesbak 1995, Engesbak and Tønseth 1995.

[2] Norwegian (14 periods a week), English (5 periods a week), Social Studies (2 periods a week), Recent History (4 periods a week), Mathematics (5 periods a week) and Natural Sciences (5 periods a week)

[3] In addition to these six, there are also other providers, as for instance Long distance learning centers and the military.

Table 1. The characteristics of the providers of general studies branch in upper secondary education.[4]

	School fees		Lessons		Organization		Entrance for requirements
	Free teaching	Free books	Day time	Evening classes	Full/part time	All subjects	
County municipal education	Yes	No	Yes	No	Full	Yes	County municipal
County municipal adult education	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Both	No	County municipal
Competence centres	No	No	No	Yes	Part	No	Non
Job centres	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Full	Yes	Unemployed
Private scholls	No	No	No	Yes	Both	Yes/no	County municipal/ non
Voluntary educational assoc.	No	No	Yes	No	Part	No	Non

Table 2 presents some major differences between the different providers. The table shows that the characteristics of the adult students in the general studies branch of the Norwegian upper secondary school varies by provider. It seems, to a certain degree, that different providers of adult education attract different types of adult students. The results indicate that the students in the county municipal education and in the private parallel school are younger and less work experienced than students attending other providers. The county municipal and the private parallel school students takes upper secondary education as a part of their continuing educational carrier. Even if these students are older than most of their classmates their life situation are relatively similar to their class mates, and the upper secondary education can be viewed upon as a part of their unbroken educational carrier. Adult students at the other provides do rarely have an unbroken educational carrier. Most of them have for instance both work experiences and families (Engesbak 1995).

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[4] The table is based upon Engesbak 1995.

Table 2. The variation in student groups after provider.[5]

	Public sector				Private sector		
	County municipal education	County municipal adult education	Compe-tence centres	Job centres	Private schools	Voluntary educational assoc.	N
Age mean	21	33	32	31	27	30	770
%-women	58	74	83	70	70	80	784
%-in cities	58	87	54	62	75	71	784
%-not employed 1994	50	36	29	52	53	21	784
%-unskilled and skilled manual workers 1994	50	30	14	22	58	12	784
Parent status							
%-unskilled and skilled manual workers	64	61	57	61	67	56	739
%-only primary school	39	48	50	50	38	39	720
%-vocational training	22	33	31	30	36	37	720
%-secondary education	15	3	4	6	3	6	720
%-university	24	17	15	14	23	18	720
N	48	239	151	142	106	98	784

Motivations for participating in adult education

Focus in adult education resarch has been on the various reasons why adults participate in adult education. Several attempts have been made to structure these reasons, or motivations, for participation. Houle (1961) performed the first major investigation of this kind by identifying three types of motivated adult learners. These types of adult learners are the goal-oriented, the learning-oriented, and the activity-oriented adult learner. The goal-oriented adult learner uses adult education as a means to accomplishing fairly clear-cut objectives. This type of adult learner participates in adult education in order to fulfill a goal, such as for instance getting a (better) job. The learning-oriented adult learner, on the other hand, is one who participates in adult education in order to seek knowledge for its own sake. This type of adult learner sees education as a ongoing process, not a phenomenon restricted to certain phases of an individuals life. The activity-oriented adult learner is one who participate in adult education because he/she find meaning in the circumstances of learning. This type of adult learner participates in adult education in order to fulfill his/hers needs for social contact with other people.

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[5] The results are equal to Engesbak 1995, but the analyses were re-run for this article.

It should be stressed that these three types of adult learners overlap since some adult learners may have more than one reason for participating in adult education. The mixture of the various orientations may vary from one individual to an other. Houle's typology should therefore be seen on as ideal types in the Weberian sense. Several researchers has developed and used Houle's typology in theoretical and empirical research (cf. Rubenson 1975).

Dahl (1992; 1993) conducted studies which are psychologically oriented, yet her findings are more peripheral to the focus of this articles more sociological focus. Engesbak (1995) recently conducted a sociological study, and the empirical data from her study is the foundation for this article. Rubenson (1975) investigated the motivations of Swedish male adult students among different providers, but we do not see that his population is comparable to Norwegian society, nor is his results comparable to our data. Making sociological predictions concerning adult students at different providers is therefore difficult due to the lack of previous relevant research in this field.

Attitudes towards work, school and leisure

The work ethic concept originates from the work "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" written in 1904-05, by the famous German sociologist Max Weber (1973). The work ethic concept has been used in various fields, such as psychology and sociology, in order to measure the centrality of work among individuals. The work ethic focuses on how involved and how oriented individuals are regarding the sphere of work. Because the work ethic concept expresses a positive attitude towards work and working in general it has often been used in order to assess the motivation level among individuals within the sphere of work (Furnham 1990). The work ethic concept refers to a person's attitudes towards work in general, rather than his or hers attitudes towards a specific job, such as his/her own. The concept is therefore not necessarily linked to experiences with a specific job (Wollack et al. 1971).

The work ethic concept is a multi-dimensional concept, and previous research has emphasized that the dynamic and intrinsic aspects of work are essential to the work ethic (Lenski 1963; Wollack et al. 1971; Rose 1985; Furnham 1990). Essential to the work ethic is that work has a value of its own and that work is important in its own right. Work itself is seen as its own reward and work is valuable, not only because it results in pay and other rewards, but because it is the best way to spend one's time (Lenski 1963, Wollack et al. 1971, Rose 1985, Furnham 1990). Individuals with a high work ethic will prefer to work instead of being lazy or passive consumers, they are more likely to be involved in their work, and derive great satisfaction from doing their work as properly as possible (Wollack et al. 1971).

The school ethic concept is relatively new, developed by the Norwegian sociologists Heidi Engesbak and Odd Helge Lindseth (Engesbak and Lindseth 1995). The school ethic concept could be viewed as a parallel concept to the work ethic concept because it expresses a positive attitude towards participating in institutionalized education and performing intellectual activity in general. Essential to the school ethic is the notion that institutional education and intellectual activity in general are important and valuable, and that engaging in them is in itself rewarding. Institutional education and intellectual activity in general represent the best way for the individual to spend the time, and these activities are valuable in their own right (Engesbak and Lindseth 1995).

Individuals with a high school ethic enjoy spending time attending institutional education and involve themselves in intellectual activity instead of being lazy, or passive consumers. They also tend to be more seriously involved in their education and their intellectual activity, and they derive more satisfaction by performing their education and intellectual activities as properly as possible. The school ethic should therefor correlate positively with the work ethic (Engesbak and Lindseth 1995).

Buchholz (1976) developed the leisure ethic, which may be regarded as a orthogonal to the work ethic. For individuals with a high leisure ethic, work has no meaning in itself. Work has meaning only as means towards the pursuit of leisure activities. Work enable one to earn money to buy goods and services produced by other workers. Essential to the leisure ethic is that the fulfillment is found in leisure activities where one has a choice in how to use ones time and can find pleasure in pursuing personal interest. It is in one's leisure time that individuals can be found creative and involved, thus the fewer hours spent working and the more time spent on leisure, the better. The leisure ethic should therefor correlate negatively with the work ethic (Buchholz 1976; Furnham and Rose 1987). Logically, the leisure ethic should therefore also correlate negatively with the school ethic (cf. Engesbak and Lindseth 1995).
Previous research among a representative sample of Norwegian adult students attending the general studies branch in the upper secondary school has shown, as predicted, that the work ethic correlates significantly positively

with the school ethic (Engesbak and Lindseth 1995). Using a very small British sample of 86 adults of various ages and of both sexes, Furnham and Rose (1987) found, as predicted, a significantly negative correlation between the leisure ethic and the work ethic. When investigating sub scales of the leisure ethic they found that the leisure ethic may have two different factors or dimensions, pro-leisure and anti-work. The pro-leisure sub-scale correlated significantly negatively with the work ethic, while the anti-work sub-scale did not correlate significantly with the work ethic at all (Furnham and Rose 1987). The British sample is small, so it is not possible to say how representative the sample is for British adults. Nevertheless, the main findings of this study, that the relationship between the leisure ethic and the work ethic is not necessarily a clear one and needs further exploration, is clearly interesting and relevant for our study (cf. Furnham 1990).

The problem

Due to the fact that adult students characteristics vary by the provider attended, it will be interesting to investigate if students attending different providers also have different levels of motivations and attitudes. Recent studies have shown that the level and dimensions of motivations and attitudes varies among adult students attending the general studies branch in the Norwegian upper secondary school (Engesbak 1995; Engesbak and Lindseth 1995). However, our main focus in this study is how the level and dimensions of motivations and attitudes vary among students at different providers of upper secondary education in Norway. We need to establish whether or not this connection between motivations and attitudes on the one hand, and type of providers of upper secondary education on the other hand, really exists.

Investigating differences among adult students at different providers of adult education seems clearly more relevant than only comparing students at public and private providers. This is due to the fact that the upper secondary school system for adults in Norway has a complex structure, where there are multiple providers in both the public and the private sector (cf. Tønseth 1995a, 1995b). Previous research on adults students attending the general studies branch in the Norwegian upper secondary school found no differences in the level of work ethic and school ethic between students attending public and private providers (Engesbak and Lindseth 1995). Nevertheless, we predict that the level of both the work ethic and school ethic, and other measures of motivations and attitudes, is likely to vary between students at different providers of upper secondary education.

Predictions

Establishing the existence of a correlation between two sets of variables, i. e. motivations/attitudes and type of providers do not indicate a causal link, but establishing a correlation is a first step in identifying potential causal links. It is likely that a causal link does exist. The direction of the causal link may sometime be difficult to establish because they may operate in both directions. On the one hand the motivations and attitudes may motivate a student to choose a particular type of provider. On the other hand the motivations and attitudes of students may also be affected by the type of provider they attend. Both perspectives may be reasonable explanations of the relationship between these two variables. It is also likely that there are other variables than type of providers which affects the level of motivations and attitudes among adult students. However, our main focus is only to establish whether there really exists a significant correlation between motivations/attitudes and type of providers. We begin by making some predictions concerning the relationships between our six measures of motivations and attitudes. Our predictions concerning the relationships between our six measures of motivations and attitudes are presented in the table 3.

Table 3. Correlational predictions among motivations and attitudes.

	Work ethic	School ethic	Leisure ethic	Goal-orientation	Learning-orientation	Activity-orientation
Work ethic		+	-	+	+	-
School ethic	+		-	+	+	-
Leisure ethic	-	-		-	-	+
Goal-orientation	+	+	-		+	-
Learning-orientation	+	+	-	+		-
Activity-orientation	-	-	+	-	-	

The three motivations, as stated earlier, measures three different reasons for participating in adult education and should thus not correlate. But it is also clear that individuals may have more than one reason for participating in adult education and thus some motivations may correlate (cf. Houle 1961). We find it most likely that many goal-oriented students also may be learning-oriented. On the other hand do we not find it likely that goal-oriented and/or learning-oriented students may also be activity-oriented.

Regarding the three attitude scales, we find it likely that the work ethic and the school ethic correlate positively, but that the leisure ethic correlates negatively with the work ethic and the school ethic. But, as discussed above, the relationship between the leisure ethic and the work ethic, and consequently with the school ethic, is not a clear one (cf. Furnham and Rose 1987; Furnham 1990).

We also find it likely that there will exist positive correlations between the goal-orientation and the work ethic, between the learning-orientation and the school ethic, and between the activity-orientation and the leisure ethic. It is likely that certain motivations and attitudes which relates to the same phenomena will correlate. The remaining correlations in table 3 are logical derivations of the correlations mentioned.

Data

The data[6] were collected in two Norwegian counties, in the middle of the school year 1994/95. In this paper we have included only adult students, 18 years or older, who have concurrently started in the general studies branch in upper secondary education. We have included adults from six groups of providers: (i) The county municipal education, (ii) The county municipal adult education, (iii) Resource- og competence-centres, (iv) Job centres, (v) The private parallel to the county municipal education, and (vi) The voluntary educational associations. The response rate was approximately 95%.

It is difficult to estimate the number of the total adult participants in the general studies branch in upper secondary education. In September/October there were approximately 1500 adults participating in this type of adult education in the two counties chosen. Our sample exists of 50% of these, or 784 adult students in total (cf. Engesbak 1995).

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[6] This data has been commissioned by the Royal Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs. The ministry is of course not responsible for any errors that might be found in the material presented, nor for the conclusions drawn. The data are collected and organized by the Norwegian Institute of Adult Education. This article is a part of a greater evaluation program of Reform'94, commissioned by the Royal Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs.

The level of motivations and attitudes in the student group

To measure the level of motivations and attitudes in the student group we have used: (i) The level of motivation which is tested and used when explaining motivation in adult education (cf. Houle 1961; Rubenson 1975), and (ii) The level of attitudes based on Weber's work ethic, which is relatively new in this context (cf. Buchholz 1976; Furnham and Rose 1987; Furnham 1990; Engesbak and Lindseth 1995). The operationalizations of motivations and attitudes is presented in table 4.

Table 4. The operationalizations of motivations and attitudes.

The attitude items	The motivation items
Work ethic (4 items) 1. Competition is positive because it stimulates to harder work (R) 2. The meaning of life must be more than just work 3. Hard work gives success in the long run (R) 4. To become successful, luck is more important than hard work	**Goal-orientation items** (5 items) 1. I want work (R) 2. I want a better work position (R) 3. I want to advence in present job (R) 4. Education is a good alternative to unemployment (R) 5. I want to reenter the workforce (R)
School ethic (4 items) 1. There is an obvious connection between time spent on homework and degrees (R) 2. Personal successes have nothing to do with new knowledge 3. Degrees are not necessarily a good expression for hours spent on home work 4. Degrees stimulate one to a better use of one's intellectual capacity, for that reason they are positive (R)	**Learning-orientation items** (3 items) 1. I want to become better informed (R) 2. I want to use ability and talents better (R) 3. I want to study subjects that interesses me (R)
Lesuire ethic (4 items) 1. The tred toward more sparetime are not good 2. Success are significate to sparetime (R) 3. Lesuire activities are more interesting than work (R) 4. Idleness are the devil's pillow	**Activity-orientation items** (3 items) 1. I want to meet other people (R) 2. I want a nice/plesant lesuire activity (R) 3. My friends have started (R)

The items were rated from 0 to 4 on an agree-disagree scale
Items markes R are reversed

The motivation measures consist of three motivational additional scales (cf. Engesbak 1995, Houle 1961): (i) The goal orientation, (ii) The learning orientation and (iii) The activity orientation. To measure the attitudes we have also constructed three additional indices (cf. Engesbak and Lindseth 1995, Buchholz 1976): (i) The work ethic[7] (ii) The school ethic[8] and (iii) the leisure ethic[9] . Table 5 below shows the indices mean, standard derivation, minimum and maximum values.

Table 5. The motivation and the attitude indices mean, standard derivation, minimum and maximum values (N=784)

Motivation	Mean	Std dev	Min.	Max.
Work ethic	8.8673	2.0317	2	15
School ethic	8.8750	2.4121	2	16
Lesuire ethic	6.4260	2.3066	0	15
Goal-orientation	13.204	4.712	0	20
Learning-orientation	8.768	2.863	0	12
Activity-orientation	4.616	2.708	0	12

The three attitude-indices consist of four items each and will theoretically vary between the values 0 (low) and 16 (high). The work ethic and the school ethic means are relatively high, respectively 8.7 and 8.8. The leisure ethic mean is however 6.4. This means that the adult students have a distinctly lower leisure ethic than work ethic and school ethic.

The motivation indices vary also. The goal orientation index consists of five items and has a mean value equal to 13.2. The learning orientation and activity orientation indices consist each of three items and have respectively mean values equal 8.8 and 6.6. The activity oriented motivation level is essential lower than the learning oriented.

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[7] For further discussion and information see Furnham 1990.

[8] For further discussion and information see Engesbak og Lindseth 1995.

[9] For further discussion and information see Buchholz 1976, Furnham and Rose 1987.

As expected, we found some correlation among the motivation levels and the attitudes. Table 6 below shows the correlation among the six measures.

Table 6. Correlations among the motivation and attitude indices. Rxy (N=784)

	Work ethic	School ethic	Lesuire ethic	Goal-orientation	Learning-orientation	Activity-orientation
Work ethic	1.000	**.2447**	**-.1959**	.0891	.0349	.0323
School ethic	**.2447**	1.000	**-.1479**	.0621	.0729	.0171
Lesuire ethic	**-.1959**	**-.1479**	1.000	**-.1290**	-.0086	**-.1008**
Goal-orientation	.0891	.0621	-.1290	1.000	**.3002**	**.3504**
Learning-orientation	.0349	.0729	.0086	**.3002**	1.000	**.3796**
Activity-orientation	.0323	.0171	-.1008	**.3504**	**.3796**	1.000

Bold correlations: P < 5 %

As expected, we found a positive significant correlation between work ethic and school ethic. This indicates that students with a high level of work ethic also reports a high level of school ethic and vice versa. We also found, as expected, that the leisure ethic was negatively correlated with the two other ethics. This means that students who report a high level of work or school ethic, are likely to report a low level of leisure ethic and vice versa.

The motivation indices correlates positively with each other. This is almost as expected. We expected that the activity orientation motivation was inversely proportional to the other two, but this was not the case.

The only significantly correlations found between motivations and attitudes was the surprisingly negative correlations between the leisure ethic on the one hand and the goal orientation and the activity orientation on the other hand. This means that the leisure ethic and the two motivations are inversely related to each other. Students who reports a high level of leisure ethic reports a low level of goal orientation and a low level of activity orientation, and vice versa.

The level of motivations and attitudes at different providers

We have now investigated how the level of motivations and attitudes varies within the student group as a whole. Our main concern now is how the level of motivation and attitudes varies among students at different providers of upper secondary education (Table 7).

Table 7. Motivation and attitudes in different student groups. Mean (N=784)

	Work ethic	School ethic	Lesuire ethic	Goal-orientation	Learning-orientation	Activity-orientation
Entire population	8.8673	8.8750	6.4260	13.2041	8.7679	4.6161
County municipal education	9.0625	8.3542	7.7500	13.7292	9.0625	6.0417
County municipal adult education	8.6862	9.0460	6.1799	12.7908	8.7824	4.6736
Competence centres	8.6887	8.6689	6.2914	12.5695	8.8146	4.3709
Job centres	9.1268	9.2183	6.2183	15.1831	9.0915	4.3028
Private schools	9.3585	8.8208	6.8113	13.8679	8.5283	4.9717
Voluntary educational assoc.	8.5816	8.5918	6.4694	11.3469	8.3061	4.2245
F-verdi	2.8239	1.7732	4.7500	10.0583	1.1329	4.1667
Sign	**0.0155**	0.1159	**0.0003**	**0.0000**	0.3413	**0.0010**
Eta	0.1335	0.1061	0.1721	0.2464	0.0850	0.1615
Eta^2	0.0178	0.0113	0.0296	0.0607	0.0072	0.0261

As we can observe from the table, the level of motivation and attitudes varies significantly across the student groups, except the school ethic and the learning orientation.

Students in private schools and job centres reports the highest work ethic while students in voluntary education associations reports the lowest work ethic. Considering school ethic, it is the students in the county municipal adult schools and in job centres who report the highest school ethic, while students in the county municipal schools report the lowest. County municipal schools and private school students report the highest leisure ethic while students in the county municipal adult school reports the lowest.

Students in private schools and job centres report the highest goal orientation while students in voluntary education associations report the lowest. The pattern in goal oriented motivation is relatively similar to the work ethic. Regarding learning orientation students in job centres and in the county municipal schools report the highest learning orientation, while students in voluntary education associations report the lowest. Considering activity orientation it is the students in the county municipal schools who report the highest level while students in voluntary education associations report the lowest.

Summary

The main aims in this article were to investigate the level of motivation and attitudes, and the possible variation in the student group. Investigating differences in motivations and attitudes among students at different providers, we found that students level of school ethic and the learning orientation did not vary significantly across providers. This can indicate that adults who start at secondary education, need a certain level of school ethic and learning orientation in order just to start. This means that all adult students have a certain level of school ethic and learning orientation. This is independent of provider.

But we found differences in both work ethic, leisure ethic, goal orientation and activity orientation. This indicates that the motivation level and the attitudes towards work and leisure activities vary within the student group after type of provider.

Students in county municipal school and in the private school parallel report the highest level of leisure ethic and activity orientation. This is explained by the fact that these students are relatively young and have little work experience. Adult students at other providers, have often both work experiences and family commitments. Education besides these commitments, will not leave any room for leisure activities. Thus, leisure is not a high priority among these students.

Students in job centres and in private schools reports the highest work ethic and goal orientation. This may be explained by the fact that the students at job centres are unemployed and are seeking employment. Students at private schools have to pay for their education and because of this they may be more oriented towards the labour market.

Conclusion

Measuring attitudes towards work, education and leisure has not been important in adult educational research compared to the use of the motivation concept. Investigating which attitudes adult students endorse and to what degree these students enter the adult educational system are relevant for adult education resarch. Especially relevant for the field of adult education, as for the field of educational research in general, is the school ethic concept since this concept is directly related to the realm of education. A discussion by

Tuomisto (1993) on adult education and values gives more arguments for the investigation of values and attitudes in adult education research. The investigation of the motivations and attitudes of adult students may not only contribute to the understanding of why adults participate, but also contribute to a better understanding of adult students in general. This perspective on motivations and attitudes gives therefore a broader view of the organizational structure of adult education in Norway and the adult students who participate in it.

The level of motivation has been an important factor in most theories and models developed in order to explain why individuals participate in adult education. The perspective of these studies has been based on motivational psychology rather than sociology (Nordhaug 1986). Our perspective on attitudes is sociological rather than a psychological, which means that the attitudes of individuals are affected by their belonging to specific social groups, such as class and age groups. We feel that it is important to maintain a sociological perspective, due to the lack of relevant sociological research in adult educational research. Introducing different measures of attitudes to the field of adult education research seems therefore relevant to strengthen the sociological perspective on adult education research.

The fact that we are introducing different measures of attitudes to adult education research does not mean that we are abolishing the previous measures of motivations introduced by Houle and developed by others (cf. Houle 1961; Rubenson 1975). The study of the concept of attitudes in adult education research should be seen as a supplement to the use of the concept of motivations. It should be clear that motivations and attitudes measure different aspects of human behavior. The motivation level of individuals is clearly related to a specific situation, specific objects and/or specific goals in which individuals are striving to realize and/or obtain. Attitudes, on the other hand, are referring back to general values that are independent of the actual situation of the individual (cf. Knutsen 1985).

It should be evident that both motivations and attitudes are clearly related as motivations could be seen as indicators of attitudes, and vice versa. It should also be clear that certain motivations and attitudes do correlate, but there are not isomorphic. This could be explained by the fact that the motivations and attitudes of individuals are always confronted with specific life situations and life conditions. Lastly, there is not a perfect match between motivations and attitudes on the one hand and actual behavior on the other hand (cf. Wollack et al. 1971).

Establishing, the pattern of differences on motivations and attitudes among different providers in secondary education seems to have several consequences for the students, for the providers, and for the educational system as a whole. These consequences concern, among other things, the success ratio of the students, students grades, teaching methods, and the school organization in the adult education system. There is a possibility that segregation based on providers will occur among adult students if motivations and attitudes of the students have a decisive effect on the behavior of students. If for instance the ratio of adult students who wants to enter higher educational institutions (i. e. university) varies between providers, this may be an indicator that undergoing secondary education at a specific provider has specific consequences for the individual. Focusing on attitudes, in addition to motivations, seems therefor clearly important in further research. Further research on the connection between motivations, attitudes and educational providers is therefore necessary. The school ethic is in this regard essential (cf. Engesbak and Lindseth 1995).

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Glenn Hultman and Alger Klasson

LEARNING FROM CHANGE?
A NOTE ON INTERACTIVE ACTION RESEARCH

Introduction

At the Department of Education and Psychology at the Linköping university a research project on Change Processes in Small Companies is presently being carried out, aiming at an analysis of change processes, participation and learning. The project, which covers a five year period and collaborates with five companies, is based on our earlier experiences, in particular our work within a recently concluded action research project with three companies.

During the period between 1990-93 the so-called HDTR-project (Human Development and Technology Renewal) was carried out at the Department for Education and Psychology and at th Adult Education Centre at Linköping university. This was financed by the Economic Communitys Comett Programme, as well as the Redundancy Payments Fund SAF/LO, via the Joint Trade Committee for the Factory Industry (a cooperation body between SAF, The Swedish Employers' Confederation Almega and the Swedish Federation of Engineering workers).

The project aimed at developing educational material and carrying out training courses where the links between competence development and technological renewal were focused upon, mainly for employees in smaller and medium-sized companies in the chemical-technical industry.

Against a background of these and other experiences gained from change research, and the practical work of development in private companies and public organisations, we wish to discuss and reflect upon the attainment of knowledge and change as a phenomenon. We do this within the frame of our research on change work in small companies. The project is financed by the Work Environment Fund.

Working life research on change and our experiences

The project we have been working on for three years (Human Development and Technology Renewal), with its close interplay between action and research and between theory and practice, and with its focus on change, is characterised as an action research project in working life (Klasson, Nyrinder, Hultman & Lundin 1993; Klasson, Nyrinder & Hultman 1994). One problem encountered is that action research does not have a uniform meaning. Gustavsen (1987, reference in Lundin 1988) gives a chronological and a thematical survey especially of the Scandinavian action research tradition, which is said to have begun with the Norwegian Collaboration project LO/NAF at the beginning of the sixties.

Development phases

The Scandinavian action research is divided into four phases - the field experiment, the reform phase, the breadth phase and the learning phase. Amongst others, the Swedish attempt, carried out by the Development Council for Collaboration Issues working group for research, (URAF), is seen as belonging to *the first phase.* (See, for example, URAF 1971.) Starting from a socio-technical system theory, the aim was to develop work organisational solutions with decreased work distribution from this general theory. The projects can be described as research-led projects. They were usually carried out within a defined trial area and the intended dissemination of results to other workplaces met with difficulties.

The transition to *the reform phase* was characterised in Sweden by labour market conflicts around 1970. The conflicts consisted mostly of workers' dissatisfaction over the work environment and lack of influence at the workplace. But even dissatisfaction with working life research had significance. Employers chose to operate their own change attempts (for example, SAFs New Factories). Dissatisfaction among the trade unions sometimes concerned the research control, and sometimes was based on a disappointment that the research did not lead to practically applicable results. An increasing belief that legislation could lead to changes grew out of this. The Norwegian Work Environment Laws and the Swedish Codetermination, (1977) and Work Environment Laws (1978) were the results. The reforms, therefore, were directed at creating lawful conditions for locally defined, often joint, change work. In the Co-determination Law in particular, emphasis was laid on such influence possibilities that imply a clear decision process (TCO 1988). This signifies a theoretical shift towards considerations of a legal and political scientific nature. Ideas on democratization of decision making on work began to play a certain role. During the reform phase a new "sub-tradition" was developed; that is to say, research having as its starting point problems defined by trade unions, where the researchers proceed from a conflict perspective, wishing to facilitate union mobilisation (see, for example, Ehn & Sandberg: DEMOS-project).

The starting point for *the breadth phase* can be said to be the two agreements "Amendment I to the Hoveda Agreements LO-NAF" and the Development Agreement SAF/LO/PTK (UVA 1982). Both of these express the idea that change work in companies ought to be carried out in concord.

Furthermore, the intention of the parties is that through local agreements on work organisation development, technology and the financial and resource issues in the company, an extensive change process based on local needs would be set in motion.

The issues concerning "infrastructure for working life research", which had been raised during the reform phase, reappeared during the 1980s. Dissemination problems were not solved, neither in working life the whole, nor for individual workplaces that had initiated changes on a smaller scale (Gustavsen, 1990). Attempts were initiated to build a network for the spread of experiences and research results.

Within the Work Environment Funds programme Management-Organisation-Co-determination (the LOM-programme), which was in operation between 1985-1989, the ambition was to make the comprehensive view of change work evident (The Work Environment Fund 1990), which among other things was reflected in the broad programme title.

The democratic dialogue that was developed by Gustavsen (1990,1992) is illustrated in several projects of the LOM programme. The idea is that the democratic dialogue successively develops solutions to technical and organisational problems in various parts of the company. The LOM-project has been evaluated by a German group under the leadership of Frieder Naschold from Wissenschaftzentrum Berlin. The evaluators describe the LOM programmes process-oriented development model as a contrast to traditional models, which can function for solving less complex problems in stable surroundings. Nonetheless, the LOM programme was the start to tackle more complex problems in organisations with turbulent surroundings (Naschold 1992). Criticism is voiced that a fruitful concept-- the democratic dialogue -- could not be established sufficiently fast at workplaces because, amongst other things, the time frames of the programme were too narrow. The process controls were not adequate. The evaluators also criticised the shortcomings in design and process instruments.

During the 1990s a certain shift of perspective has taken place from issues of form to those of aims. The phase we are in at present can preliminary be called *the learning phase.* The participatory approach in many cases appears to be combined with a concentration on learning -- individually and organisationally (see, for example, Docherty 1991 and Eriksson & Holmer 1991). The Work Environment Funds programme "Learning Organisations" supports research and development projects directed towards learning (Docherty 1996). The Competence Inquiry (SoU 1991, 56 and 1992, 7) is another example of how issues on learning and competence development work are being given attention.

Interactive action research

Starting from Sandberg's et al (1992) discussion on different types of action research, from action research to praxis research, we observe that our interest and method of working can be said to be praxis-oriented and interactive. Sandberg et al (1990) argue that the Scandinavian action research tradition has been further developed relative to work for weak, unprivileged groups and a striving for increasing working life democracy. Svensson et al (1990) discusses these issues noting that it has been difficult for research to offer contributions for changes. According to these researchers, a solution can be that it is the employees themselves, and not the researchers, that shall take the initiative. Nevertheless, their own experiences show that this is difficult to bring about.

Both Sandberg et al (1992) and, much earlier, Chein, Cook & Harding (1948), discuss different kinds of action research stemming from, among other things, objectification, that is to say, how the researcher views his position in relation to the companies and the employees. Sandberg, and others, interactive stances are similar to Chein, Cook & Hardings clinical and participative variant, but the former shows a stronger emphasis on participation, dialogue and interplay. We consider that our own stance resembles that which Sandberg et al describe as interactive action research, in contrast to experimental and diagnostic (expert model) action research (Chein, Cook & Harding 1948).

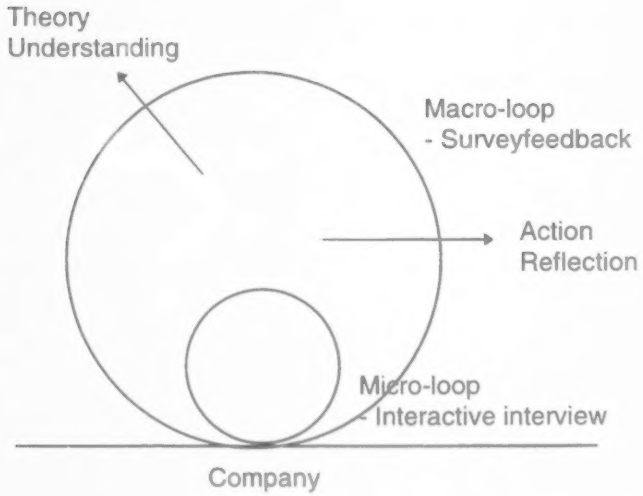

Figure 1. The double loops of action research. The Micro-loop and Macro-loop as parts in an interactive stance

With this model we wish to show that the interaction is partly that both the participating person and the company benefit from interplay with, for example, researchers, and partly that the interaction is a way of creating knowledge on change processes for both the individual and the company as well as for the researcher. We do not bring up for discussion here aspects of trustworthiness, but we are aware of the problem that exists when researchers study something which they are simultaneously participating in. Let us, however, point out that part of this problem's solution can be found in a theoretical and practical consciousness on the part of the researcher, which makes triangulation possible.

Moreover, we will try to further develop our stance to an interactive, anthropological variant of action research. By this we wish to underscore that we not only emphasise action and measures (the practical side of interaction), but also research (interaction as an aid for understanding). We see great possibilities for a real combination of interaction and interplay and research directed at understanding. This type of research makes great demands on the researcher and the research set-up, considering the various types of problems which can arise due to the researchers own interest in the work. These threats to credible conclusions can be handled with design and theoretical con-sciousness.

The researcher shall be able to support the companies in accordance with their conditions while simultaneously searching for authority to question them. The researcher shall also consciously choose a strategy (be normative), and at the same time allow himself to consciously question this strategy. The researcher shall base his work on current theory within the field, while simultaneously striving to increase his understanding so that new theory is developed. This method of action research application concerns both researchers and consultants as well as employees within the company, because it is, in fact, another way of describing a learning stance and criteria of a learn-ing organisation.

The support, the strategy and the theory are also developed within the interaction frames, that is to say, an interaction between inductive and deductive processes. We have attempted to work in this way, and this document is one way of illustrating and discussing these different work methods and insights.

Competence, local logic and "the good work"

For a positioning in relation to current working life research and different approaches to competence development, we can refer to Sandberg's et al (1992) discussion on rationalisation strategies which focus on productivity, new technique and detailed control and condensing of the work as well as socio-technical design. Sandberg et al (1992) point to the trade unions' aim for "the good work", and to the labour market parties and their work within The Development Programme (UP). Gustavsen's (1990) discussion on working life strategies from OD via socio-technical design to today's developments in working life.

It can be said, with reference to Ellström's (1992) different perspectives on competence development in working life, that our attempt is embedded in a humanistic/conflict/institutional perspective. By this we mean that our organisational educational perspective features thoughts about the good work, that we work with activities where we must handle varying interests, and that activities have their own branch specifics and local logic. This can also be noted by referring to the experiences from the MDA-programme (Docherty & Dilschmann 1993), where they clearly argue for learning attempts which are characterised by a high-level of participation and focusing on context and activity. A worker's perspective (client perspective) must be combined with an activity perspective. Even these researchers comment on the need that these perspectives have to be handled in dialogue form where consideration can be taken for both technical and social solutions within a learning perspective framework.

Experiences from action research in practice

There is a need to strengthen the competitiveness and development abilities of companies by developing staff, introducing new technologies and new work organisation in a constructive collaboration between trade unions, employees and employers. The way people learn and adopt changes needs to be illuminated with more concrete proposals and projects and HDTR contributes to this with a special focus on small companies.

Our action-directed research has been influenced by several factors mentioned above. Added to this are the influences coming from Adult Education research and practice (Ellström 1992). The complexity of problems which small and medium-sized companies face, when participating in change processes, were focused on in the project, and a learning strategy lay behind its set-up. There, the broad attempt was a central concept. Practically, this meant that instead of working with pilot groups, the conditions were that the whole company - or at the least the entire production unit - should participate simultaneously in the change work. Moreover, participation, democratic dialogue, a holistic view and local solutions were examples of methods used, and we also hoped to increase our understanding of them. We applied a "participative researcher role", i.e. we worked in collaboration with the management, the trade union and the employees to create a common understanding of the situation in the company. The solutions that developed were built on the knowledge and experiences of those involved. We supported the process and contributed, among other things, to establishing a forum for discussion.

The task of the researcher?

The tasks of the researcher can be summed up in four points:

To initiate the development process. The first step is to contact the company and carefully go through the conditions for the researcher's participation in the development process. It is of immense importance, that the views of the company and the researchers are reasonably concordant when it comes to value premises. It is also of decisive importance, that the company shows a serious attitude and makes it plausible that they are both willing and capable of carrying on with the development work. The second step of the initiation phase is to start the activities, which will induce change. In our case, this phase has been in the form of a dialogue conference.

To be a source of knowledge. When companies are facing a far-reaching development process, the parties involved will, for natural reasons, feel slightly unsure about how to go about it. Normally, companies have extensive experience of organising project work, but change processes involving the entire company are usually new to them. Therefore, they need to inform themselves about what experiences have been made by other companies in similar situations. They also need to learn about the latest scientific findings in this area. The researcher should be able to provide this information.

To be a discussion partner. Coming from outside, the researcher, can give valuable support to the company when it wishes to test its ideas on how to design the change process. The researcher can also be instrumental in encouraging the company to rely on its own resources. Finally, the researcher can advise the local tutors on methodological issues.

To follow up and evaluate the development work. Sometimes, the company might find it difficult to assess how the work is progressing. When the change process has been in operation for some time, it is difficult to survey the situation. The researcher stands a better chance of keeping to a distance and of continuously feeding back her/his observations to the company.

To get a notion of the type and degree of engagement a researcher can evince, we can study a spectrum where one pole is represented by the pure expert. Here, the researcher is not involved in the process at all, but instead views the company from outside. S/he independently analyses the problems and subsequently writes programmes on how to tackle them. It is then up to the management to put these programmes into practice.

At the other end of the spectrum we find the researcher who, more or less, shoulders the responsibility for running the development process. S/he leads the whole process and is, for shorter or longer periods, a permanent resident at the company.

We reject both these extremes. In our approach, the tasks we have taken upon ourselves signify close co-operation with management and employees of the company, although we always insist that the full responsibility for the development work is born by the company. Thereby, our role will be that of a catalyst, stimulating processes, which are subsequently fired by the internal drive and a willingness to change.

The status in companies after the project, in 1993

We give below a brief resume of the participating companies and what they have got out of the project and which problems they have come up against.

The Alfa company: There is an increasing understanding among key persons (management and trade union) on how employees' ideas can be put to use in the on-going efforts for renewing work-organisation and work conditions. One evident sign of this is the agreement reached for regular meetings at the workplace as a means of communication within each unit. Another sign of the wish to persevere, and that due to the HDTR-project there is an awareness that changes consume time, is that money has been sought from the Work Life Fund to finance a further year for the project. During the same period the new production groups have been given continued development support by internal "facilitators".

During the year 1993, productivity increased by 16 % in the production group that had worked the longest period with the project. The management considered this a result of their change efforts.

Increased knowledge can be measured concerning the handling of the company's computer system for planning of production and deliveries. A broadening of abilities has arisen because the production groups have gradually shouldered responsibility for giving reports, making minor purchases, etc. Noticeable changes have occurred in instances requiring initiative and independent actions in various connections at work.

Demands for greater influence and more resources have been directed towards management. The demands have also concerned the need for information from the management on details for how the organisation is to be modelled. The management has maintained that there is no finalised plan and that each person must contribute with ideas and suggestions for solutions. Problems connected to the project have not always been solved concordantly, and instead management has used its right of unilateral decision-making. There is a greater awareness of the significance of leadership issues, especially in connection with large changes.

The trade union and management are both convinced that the extensive introduction phase had great importance by laying the groundwork for broad commitment in the later part of the development project.

The Beta company: The company's management underscores the value of learning a new, interactive and cost-saving model for project leadership by having resource persons from the outside as facilitators and advisors but not as decision-makers. Attention has been brought to the tutoring competence which exists within the company, as well as to the areas where this is lacking.

At the beginning there was a common understanding between the trade union and management over the need for competence development, and how this could be provided. In the project management group that was formed while the project was in progress, common experiences led to more people seeing in a positive light the company's possibilities for change. Among other things, it can be ascertained that previous problems have been surmounted by the planning of regular recurring development efforts.

The project at the Beta company changed direction when it became obvious during the introduction phase that the factory workers were motivated to deepen and widen their skills with respect to their own machinery, but that they were sceptic of traditional education. By establishing the so-called "Education Factory", which to a great extent was based on the principle of "learning-by-doing", their motivation has been retained. More than half of the employees express the wish for continued education after the twelvemonth programme was carried out.

Gains, in the form of increased self-confidence and greater knowledge, are expressed mainly by those employees whose work tasks are considered less qualified. It is here that room for change has been greatest.

Results in the form of an increased interest for quality issues among the employees has been noted. Proposals for improvement have increased and discardment has gone down.

Problems discussed at the Beta company are questions of the possibility to maintain the new and higher level of knowledge. This demands that skills are utilised. There are examples showing that the company has coped better with sickness absence because employees now have greater range of skills. However, there is also evidence indicating that the old work organisation, with its clearly specialised work tasks, has made its mark on people so that they are unwilling to cooperate and be flexible.

The Gamma company: In this company the HDTR-project's efforts have been more limited than in other companies. After a dialogue conference and an inquiry into the education needs among the factory workers, it was the intention to concentrate the project on tutor support during a series of seminars concerning quality issues run with some of the company's managers as tutors. The quality seminars were discontinued by management when less than half had been carried out and, as a consequence, the tutor support from the HDTR-project was also broken off. Repeated attempts to resume the cooperation merely resulted in continued planning.

The company's situation during the project period has been turbulent. Slumps in orders have been replaced by very high pressures on production, and the number of employees has been regulated with consideration to the variations in the level of orders. Technical development projects (for example, a new manufacturing line) has been given priority, as well as current production. Conflicts between the trade union and management has aggravated discussions on competence development.

In follow-up interviews during the spring of 1993 many of the employees expressed disappointment over the fact that development attempts were not completed, while the management considered a new start later on.

At present we are analysing what happened in these three companies during 1993-1995 together with experiences from two other companies, trying to cope with similar forces of change. We will now continue our discussion on interactive action research in practice.

Studying change processes

It is our belief that it is a meaningful alternative to study change processes by establishing contacts and collaboration with different companies, so that their work can be observed over a long period of time. The ambitions, over the years, are to follow events, both when something new is introduced, and when more natural changes occur for various reasons. We would like to denote this as longitudinal case studies with elements of participative observation. In terms of time, we mean contacts with the companies for a period of three to five years with recurring contacts and visits, etc.

Case studies have been used previously by various researchers, and this is no clear-cut method. Stjernberg (1993) studied different attempts spanning 20 years, where the ambitions were to discover new forms for organising work in companies. He does this aided by documents and by interviews later, carried out with key persons in and outside of the companies. Van de Ven, Angle & Poole (1989) give an account of several studies on different attempts to install innovations by, for example, doing a follow-up on the change each year over a three year period, with the help of interviews, visits and document analysis. Alvesson (1989) reports on one study of a company aided by interviews on one occasion, analysis of documents and featuring participative observation. Wolcott (1973) writes an ethnographical case study of a supervisor, helped by multiple methods over several years. He also reports (Walcott 1977) on an ethnography concerning introduction of an innovation in an organisation. Seashore Louis & Miles (1990) give an account of change processes in five schools with the help of multiple methods that span over several years. Hultman (1986a, b, c) describes and analyses a management training programme by applying participative observation, deep interviews, questionnaires and document analyses over a number of years. Ellström (1983) uses a multiple case-study design with some form of control groups.

Case descriptions

In our view, it is important that attempts are made to describe the participating companies, so that a comprehensive picture of companies in change is created, and so that a comprehensive foundation is given which will contribute to improved understanding of the dynamics of change. From, among others, Seashore Louis & Miles (1990) it is possible to construct a structure that aims to throw light on the changes in companies, with a case description that could contain the following: 1) the company, surroundings and market, 2) early changes and interventions, 3) the change process, 4) the implementation of specific programmes, 5) results and effects, 6) explanations of the results achieved - theory, 7) learning, for company development, 8) the company picture relative to the other companies - a comparison.

These case descriptions shall give an individual picture of each companies special situation, besides providing a foundation for discussing general aspects of change.

Case study methods

To create a basis to describe companies in change, it is possible to utilise different methods. These methods should, perhaps, be used selectively considering to the circumstances arising in the companies. It may be necessary to change the armoury of methods and one's stance, should this benefit an increased understanding of that which is of interest. This adaptation can also be brought about by an on-going dialogue with the companies, where their views lead to an improvement in one's choice of methods. This is of particular concern when companies are in a normal phase, characterised by non-spectacular changes just at that moment. It is difficult for an outsider to study change when day-to-day events dominate.

We consider that the following elements and methods are important for our studies on change within companies. An *anchoring* of the project at the various companies, in order to carry out selection and to explain ideas behind the design of the proposed research. This is an important and time-consuming job.

During each year the following data compilation can be carried out *periodically* in each company.

- October, year 1, interviews on a broad base over a two day period ("breadth") - February * one day visits for discussions with key persons ("key")
- April, year 2, "breadth" - August* "key" - October"breadth"
- February[1] year 3, "key"

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[1] complemented with continual contacts by telephone and mail

Moreover, other types of data should be collected, such as minutes of meetings from the management group, the strategic development group, and the trade union, as well as those minutes taken at meetings of the production groups, etc. It is also necessary to gather companies own data on productivity, work injuries, dismissals and new recruitment, sick leave, proposal activities, wage systems and salary development, and so on, to obtain more objective measurements which can be documented over a period of time.

And a number of interviews with training coordinators/tutors/consultants who are linked to the various companies can be carried out periodically. Even other influences, which are not introduced by consultants, are brought to attention here. These can be contacts with other companies which are established in various ways.

Discussions and interviews are directed to different levels and positions, such as owner, management, white- and blue-collar workers, unions and other people who are affected by the changes. This is necessary for achieving breadth and a variety of perspectives on what is happening, as well as for actually seeing in depth where the changes begin, are realised, and fade away. The reason why we propose this is that we view companies as micro-political worlds having different interests and consisting of varying sub-cultures.

If it is possible to construct an instrument for measuring organisational variables (i.e. variables for a survey: work satisfaction, leadership, policy, learning, participation, etc.) which relate to questions raised, then such an instrument can be distributed to all the employees in the participating companies (if this is compatible with the will of the company). It is an advantage to start from what other researchers have done.

Another aim is to make analyses of training that has been carried out at the companies, including programme documents, course tutors and so on.

Internal work in the research group should be carried out during the first years, with the aim of producing a review, where earlier studies of different change projects are analysed to generate theoretical ideas and to provide material for a validation.

Support to the companies, *the action dimension.* We believe it is possible to provide support in terms of the following: creation of a company network for mutual exchange and learning, the researchers as dialogue partners, smaller scale training and seminars (such as management seminars, trade union seminars and cross-organisational meetings, etc.). This work also includes feedback of data and analyses which are continually being collected by the researchers. It can also concern participating in "newstarts", in cases where companies find that nothing is happening and when energy for change has been lost.

Additionally, we would draw attention to the possibility of producing several *alternative descriptions* and analyses from other starting points. Discussions with working life journalists about independent case descriptions and analyses based on a few days visits to the companies, so called "flash pictures", where interviews and participant observations are the basic material. We have experiences of such work earlier (Hultman et al 1976) and our work with external evaluators (Pettigrew, Schmuck & Vormeland 1982). The aim of such work is to establish a parallel and competitive analysis, as well as to make possible a distribution of the result in other forms than those offered by the researchers.

These are examples of activities, although it is our belief that it is not possible to become involved within the framework of a research project as much, or as deeply, as we did during the HDTR-project. Referring to figure 1, we had a focus then on the training and action dimension, while a research project focuses on theory and understanding. However, it can be of interest in both cases to collaborate with the companies, although in the latter case to a more limited degree and only if the companies themselves consider this meaningful.

We conclude our article with a critical discussion on the relation between two cultures, companies and researchers. A matter of collaboration and potential conflict.

Relationships between researchers and companies

Working with change processes includes, in one way or another, people from the outside who in various ways and to different degrees interact with the company. This external support is just one important variable in changes. There exists, also, an inner and outer context which must be heeded in these types of studies.

When we study companies interacting with their environment it becomes interesting to critically examine which "areas" that are granted to these external individuals. Slightly more drastically worded, it could be asked whether they would be "allowed in" even though they are inside? Are there researchers in the inner culture? Do researchers participate in a discussion of day-to-day problems of the company and do companies have great confidence in the researchers, who are given opportunities for supporting the company with analyses, and by functioning in the role of dialogue partner. Here the thesis "researchers always work in an abstract world, in the periphery" can be expressed, as an alternative. Everything is stamped by language carrying the rhetoric of change. It is our view then that the territories of the researchers and the consultants can be described in terms of education/ courses/management seminars and evaluation.

When the researchers/consultants leave the company, it may become apparent that they were never "allowed in" to the inner culture! Everything proceeds as before; that is to say, no basic patterns have been changed.

It is also possible that researchers are met in a positive spirit when the diagnosis and interventions are along the lines of the management's intentions, but without interest when they want to discuss why nothing happens, why training fails to turn up, why initiatives are not followed up, why leadership stays the same, etc.

The relationship between external support and the company can be perceived as an exchange process or transference of knowledge and skills between two parties or cultures, a knowledge conflict? If the knowledge that is "disseminated" contains unsuitable assessments, and is drawn up in an unsuitable fashion, then it can be supposed that there is a risk of genuine opposition arising between the researcher and the company - a conflict relating to how knowledge is viewed. Can the transfer problem depend partly on the nature of the knowledge? This comes closer to a theoretical argument where the grounds for the phenomenon "change" are given attention. Svensson et al (1990) consider, however, that this is no obstacle, but rather that these forms are complementary. In our opinion this can be complicated and we refer to Hultman & Hörberg's (1994) analysis, showing that the utilisation of knowledge can depend on the differing qualities of knowledge. We like to highlight this relationship by the following diametrical reasoning:

THE RESEARCHERS KNOWLEDGE IS NOMOTHETICAL	↔	THE COMPANYS KNOWLEDGE IS IDEOGRAPHIC
Scientific, theoretically abstract, and systematic		Local, exemplifyingly concrete, and experienced-based

This difference can be discerned even when researchers try to be practical in, for example, training, when they simplify, exemplify, and show videos from practical trials, etc., but companies anyway demand clearness, concrete examples, etc.

These are questions that should be addressed by interactive action research. In what way does the work of the researchers interplay with the daily work in the company? Is the company capable of handling change work simultaneously with production? Is there a genuine difference between the researchers and the company's view of knowledge?

Learning from change comes from interaction between cultures, from the understanding of reasons for non-change and insights from the inside.

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II

EVALUATING QUALITY

Seppo Kontiainen and Jyri Manninen

QUALITY OF ADULT LEARNING

USE OF CONCEPTUAL MODELS IN DESCRIBING INDIVIDUAL LEARNING PROCESSES

Introduction

An aim of this paper is to analyze individual learning experiences and the factors behind it. We will show, that besides the need to find general models of adult learning, there is also a need to find structured ways to study individual learning processes and to understand these differences between individuals. The paper introduces an approach to build models of adult learning processes. Dynamic Concept Analyses (DCA; Kontiainen 1991) is developed to analyze complex phenomena in a dynamic and holistic way.

Another aim of this study is to analyze how a learning process can be understood as interrelations between various aspects of learning. Theories and models of learning processes aim at finding principles and understanding of these processes. In studies of adult education and learning, theoretical approaches vary from presenting general principles of learning to specific theories and models, for instance: Dewey (1938), Knowles (e.g. 1984), Freire (1972), Mezirow (1981), Argyris (1982), Kolb (1984), Jarvis (1987a) and Engeström (1987). Nature and development of models for teaching adults is discussed for example by Brookfield (1986).

Many of these theories and models are expressed in highly general terms, and it may be difficult to find paths from the general level into individual cases or vice versa. Some other approaches, for example, personal constructs by Kelly (1963), emphasize the need of building individual models to understand a particular phenomenon. Systems approach (e.g. Checkland 1981) uses a certain common structure to guide and analyze learning processes.

Conceptual models of this paper are built by applying Dynamic Concept Analysis, DCA, developed by Kontiainen (1991). The main difference, when compared with the other models of the learning processes, is that this approach makes it possible to use the same source of information for building both general and individual models (see Kontiainen 1991).

A conceptual model is here a network of the relations between different properties of a learning process. A model is a simplification of reality. Models are often presented as general conceptual frameworks or as statistical models. Use of models in education and psychology is discussed in more detail, for example, by Reese and Overton (1973) and van Geert (1994).

This study concentrates on the analyses of different properties of a learning process. A model gives an overall picture of a process or a given moment of this process. A 'process', as seen as a function of time, could be understood as a series of moving and changing pictures of a reality, i.e. by a series of models. On the other hand, a process could be understood, as in this paper, as a dynamical overall description of a whole process, in which verbs are taken in the description of structural qualities (attributes) of the learning process.

This paper demonstrates how to build models and how to use the information of learning. A model makes a hypothesis about an actual case. Conceptual models can be defined as influence diagrams or systems maps; they are not causal models (cf. Huff 1990; Axelrod 1976). Each model gives a hypothesis of how different things are likely to become related in a real life situation or a process. Conceptual models can be considered as structured simplifications of a reality and as hypothetical structures of actual life, which may serve as basis for deeper analyses of a behaviour or a phenomenon.

The analyses are completed in the following order: firstly, the conceptual framework of the study is specified. Secondly, the empirical basis of the study is introduced, and thirdly, the conceptual tool and its use is demonstrated by a case study.

Conceptual framework

Elements of adult learning

Adult learning is a complex individual process with close connections to the learner's life experience, life situation, values and attitudes, and to the properties of social and psychological environments.

Different theories of adult learning view a good learning situation quite similarly. A common belief is that adult learners are motivated, self-directing students with a desire to control their learning outcomes. A good learning process is based on experience (Knowles 1980; Kolb 1984), on reflection (Mezirow 1985), on group processes (Mezirow 1985; Ahteenmäki-Pelkonen 1994), and have relation to the learners meaning structures (Niinistö 1985) as well as to the actual work practices (Kauppi 1993).

The conceptual framework of this paper is defined primarily in discussion with the elements of adult learning produced by Jarvis (1987a) for the model of the learning processes. His model (ibid., 25) is originally based on Kolb's (1984) model of experiential learning, and includes nine categories: (1) the person, (2) situation, (3) experience, (4 & 9) learning outcomes/change, (5) practice and experimentation, (6) memorisation, (7) reasoning and reflecting, and (8) evaluation. The model shows the relationships between different categories, and nine responses to a potential learning experience are mapped out of the model to show different routes and forms of learning. The study by Jarvis produced useful elements and concepts of adult learning to be considered in this study. His model of learning routes is not otherwise used in the analyses of this paper.
In a rather similar way Kidd (1976, 269) specified five elements of learning: the learner, the teacher, the group (usually), the setting or situation, and the subject matter.

Some new categories and concepts are introduced in this paper, and the terminology to specify the content and the meaning of a component is in some cases different as compared to those of Jarvis and Kidd. This is partly due to the research method employed here, and partly because a different term is, for a reason or an other, considered better for analyses in this study.

The components of adult learning are divided here in five main categories. Each category includes one or more variables of the learning process. In this study, there are altogether twelve variables to describe different qualities of adult learning. These are given in Table 1. This conceptual framework will be used later in the paper as the background to build detailed individual models of the learning processes.

Category A is named '*learner/practitioner*' because an adult learner often brings into learning processes his/her own experience of everyday life, or learning is related to the development of work and/or personal competencies. The variables 1 (Role), 2 (Involvement) and 3 (Motivation) are the characteristics of the student's orientation to learning. Content Relevancy (4) is placed under Category A because it has been considered that it is finally up to the learner him/herself to assess the relevancy before, during or after a learning experience.

Category B includes two variables specifying qualities of the *learning environment*. Social Interaction (5) refers to a group working together. Learning Climate (6) refers to the general atmosphere or climate in which learning occurs. The learning climate is developed by the student, the teacher and/or the group. In addition, the climate is dependable on the content, and on how the content is dealt with in learning situations.

Category C includes variables (7, 8 and 9) which specify the qualities of strategies used or developed for *learning and teaching*. Learning and teaching strategies are developed by the learner or by the teacher or in a dialogue between the learner and the adult educator.

Category D consists of two variables relating to *outcomes* of learning. Learning Type (10) refers to the amount of innovatory experiences in learning. The other variable Change (11) means actual changes in the learner's habits of thinking, and the reflections of the learning experience into practice.

Evaluation gives the learner's assessment of a learning experience.

The concepts or elements of a learning situation or a process are specified in this study by three attributes. 'Neutral' or 'medium' level of a concept refers to a situation where there may be a combination of qualities of the two pole attributes of the dimension or the attribute 'neutral' indicates 'neutrality' towards the quality in question. Each concept has to be perceived as a continuum, though. The concepts with the attributes are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Concepts and attributes of adult learning

CONCEPTS		**ATTRIBUTES**		
A.	**Learner/practitioner**			
A1	Role	autonomous	medium	non-autonomous
A2	Involvement	active	medium	passive
A3	Motivation	high	medium	low
A4	Content	meaningful	neutral	meaningless
B.	**Learning environment**			
B5	Interaction	active	medium	passive
B6	Climate	informal	non-formal	formal
C.	**Learning/teaching**			
C7	Approach	theoretical	neutral	practical
C8	Reflectivity	reflective	medium	non-reflective
C9	Memorisation	high	medium	low
D.	**Outcome**			
D10	Learning type	innovative	neutral	conformist
D11	Change	high	medium	low
E.	**Evaluation**			
E12	Evaluation	positive	medium	negative

Definition of concepts of adult learning

The definitions of the variables in categories A-E will be discussed in the following.

A. Learner/practitioner

(1) Role (autonomous - medium - non-autonomous)

The learner role will be defined here by the degree of autonomy the learner has in a learning process. The learner him/herself can be the agent of learning or have an object role. This is close to the terms 'self-directed and 'other directed' or 'agent' and 'reactor' (Jarvis 1987a, 66). The status of a learner depends on the roles s/he takes or the roles given to the learner. The degree of independency or autonomy of the learner will be defined in practice as the learner's self-perception of the role.

(2) Involvement (active - medium - passive)

This is defined as the intensity of involvement and participation in the activities which are part of the course. Involvement can be affected by situational factors (such as course members, trainers, locations, contents) and obstacles (child care arrangements, transport etc.).

(3) Motivation (high - medium - low)

Jarvis (ibid., 93) refers to disjuncture, disconnection or distance when talking about the learner's personal relationship with a learning process. Disjunction or discontinuity means a gap between the individual biography and the learning experience. Learning is affected by the learner's actual needs to establish harmony between the biography and the present experience. The term 'disjuncture' is placed here by 'motivation', because the latter is in wider use. Nevertheless, 'disjuncture' could be an appropriate term to express the nature of motivation in adult learning.

(4) Relevance of content (meaningful - neutral - meaningless)

The relevance of content is defined here by the dimension between 'meaningful' and 'meaningless'. The use of these attributes is motivated by the notion that an individual is a meaning-seeking being. A learning situation is experienced relevant if the contents are related to the wider meaning structures of the individual (Niinistö 1985; Jarvis 1987b).

B. Learning environment

(5) Social interaction (active - medium - passive)

Social interaction refers to the qualities of social processes in learning (group processes, tutoring etc.). An individual learning process may be promoted by positive, supportative cooperation with others. In contrast, a conflict or lack of interaction may have (often) a negative, preventive influence on learning. Many studies of adult learning (e.g. Knowles 1984, 14-17) emphasize the importance of setting a suitable social climate in which adults may learn. Education is a cooperative rather than an operative art, as it implies voluntary interaction among individuals during learning. Social interaction is specified here by the dimension 'active - passive'. It is assumed, that also an independent learner can have a social environment of learning.

(6) Learning climate (informal - non-formal - formal)

There are three types of social groups: informal, non-formal and formal (Jarvis 1987a, 68-70). The dimension 'informal - formal' is used here to describe the climate or the atmosphere of a learning environment. Individualistic situations are likely to become characterized as 'informal' situations in which the learner finally defines the circumstances in which the learning takes place. 'Non-formal' situation can be often described as a situation combining qualities of informal and formal situations: 'non-formal' could be placed in some occasions by 'collegial' or 'peer'. 'Formal' situations are ready-tailored situations with little or none consideration of the learner's personal needs or life experience. 'Formal' relates to any bureaucratic or official situation in which people play different roles (e.g. those of teachers and students).

C. Learning/teaching

(7) Approach to learning (theoretical - neutral - practical)

Different learning processes may give different emphasis on theoretical and practical issues. For instance, skills learning may often be very practical without any clear connection to the theoretical bases of a performance. 'Theoretical' refers to learning where theoretical principles are learned without any practical examples or applications. 'Neutral' level in this category represents an approach in which theoretical and practical elements appear together: theory in practice or practice in theory.

(8) Reflectivity (reflective - medium - non-reflective)

Jarvis (ibid., 87) defines 'reflectivity': "Reflection, in this context, means a process of deep thought, both looking backwards to the situation being pondered upon and projecting forward to the future, being a process both of recall and reasoning. "Schön's (1983) analyses of reflective practitioners and Mezirow's (1981) theory of adult learning and education give good examples of different forms and levels of reflectivity, and of how the term 'reflectivity' can be understood. Dewey (1933), Argyris (1982), Boud et al. (1985) and Engeström (1987) emphasize processes of thinking as essential part of learning activities.

(9) Memorisation (high - medium - low)

Memorisation refers to degree of reproducing of information in a learning situation. 'High' memorisation means, that learners are expected to acquire a lot of new information and to remember the information with which they have been presented.

D. Outcome

(10) Type of learning (innovative - neutral - conformist)

Several writers of adult education search for possible outcomes of learning. For instance, Argyris (1982) when talking about double loop learning, Botkin et al. (1979) when introducing ideas of maintenance or innovative learning, and Dewey (1933), Freire (1972), Kolb (1984), Engeström (1987) and others when seeing adult learning as a problem solving process or as part of a developmental project. A type of learning outcome is here assessed on the dimension 'innovative-conformist'. However, an innovative outcome does not always lead to an actual change. This is why another category of outcome, 'change', is considered necessary to characterize implications the learning may have in everyday practice.

(11) Change (high - medium - low)

A change can be understood as new forms of practice, knowledge and skills. The concept also refers to personal development and growth. In this study change was measured using a sumscore consisting of seven items. Internal consistency for sum score was relatively high, .85 as measured by Cronbach's alpha. The items included questions as 'The course gave me new useful information', 'The course motivated me to develop my skills further', etc. Most learning results in some form of change. A rather flexible dimension (high - low) is used here, because it is often difficult to assess actual impacts of learning on changes in real life situations.

(12) Evaluation (positive-medium-negative)

Evaluation is regarded here as an overall assessment of a learning process.

Empirical data

Empirical data was collected at 26 continuing education courses at the University of Helsinki, Lahti Research and Training Centre. The courses were long (6 months) labour market training courses, aimed at university graduates who are either unemployed or in threatened job positions. 347 students filled in the questionnaire at the end of the programme, which equals 80.7% of the total sample. 242 (69.7%) were women, 104 (30%) men. The concepts were measured using a questionnaire, where the students were asked to assess their position on scale 1 to 7 (low - high, passive - active etc.). The concepts were defined in the questionnaire.

Analysis

'Traditional' analysis

The overall assessment of the learning processes (Concept 12, evaluation) was very positive. The distribution is described in the next figure.

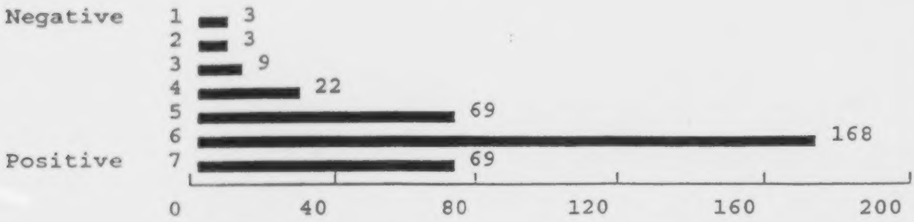


Figure 1. Distribution on question 'Your overall assessment of the learning process'

N= 343, Mean= 5.71, s= 1.08

The results of stepwise regression analysis show that the best predictors of Evaluation are change (β=.44), Relevancy (β=.29), Learning climate (β=.15) and Social interaction (β=.11). It seems that learning processes with relevant contents and actual outcome deserve more positive evaluation, at least if the social learning environment is humanistic and there is enough interaction with others.

Traditional correlative analysis methods are based on linearity assumptions. However, it is assumed here that the relationships between the concepts can be also nonlinear, and therefore they remain unnoticed in a causal analysis based on traditional methods. Statistical methods are mainly based on group level observations and use mean values, and it is difficult to analyze variations within the concepts and their dynamics, as well as individual cases and differences. Therefore, in order to meet the objectives of this study, there is a need to go deeper in the analysis using different methods.

Dynamic Concept Analysis

Adult learning will be analyzed further by the Dynamic Concept Analysis, DCA (cf. Kontiainen 1991; Manninen 1993). Four stages are central in this approach: (1) to identify the key concepts for the study, (2) to define the relationships between the concepts, (3) to build an information structure of concept relations, and (4) to use the information structure to build conceptual models, which can be described and assessed. An *information structure* includes information of relationships between the variables of a study, and serves as the basis for integrating information in *conceptual models.* A conceptual model is a network of concept relations, in which different types of relations may appear in the same structure.

The information structure

The relationships between the twelve concepts and thirty six attributes of the learning processes are defined here with help of pairwise cross classifications (3*3 tables). Adjusted residuals were used to identify the cells, where the distribution of the other concept's attributes differs from the expected values and where an hypothesis can be made about relations between the two attributes. Adjusted residuals (d) can be compared with percentiles of the normal distribution, and therefore values greater than 1.64 (p=.05) suggest a significant discrepancy between the observed and expected frequencies (Reynolds 1977, 12). Positive adjusted residuals over 1.64 were used as a criterion.

Matrix 1 (Appendix 1) is the information structure based on the information of concept relations of adult learning processes.

The relationship Concept 5 (Social Interaction) has to Concept 12 (Evaluation) is given as the statements:

12/5	active social interaction	5a → 12a	positive evaluation (d=5.2)
	medium social interaction	5n → 12n	medium evaluation (d=3.0)
	passive social interaction	5b → 12n	medium evaluation (d=2.0)
	passive social interaction	5b → 12b	negative evaluation (d=6.4)

The statements can be interpreted as probabilistic relationships; eg. active social interaction '*is likely to have an effect* on positive evaluation.

There is still a need to analyse some relations using the crosstabulation methods suggested by Lazarsfeld (1955) in order to eliminate spurious relationships. At this stage the statements are open to criticism and alterations; each statement should be considered as a empirically tested research hypothesis.

Matrix 1 serves as the basis for building conceptual models of various learning processes. Twelve concepts with their thirty six attributes can make more than half a million (3^{12}) different attribute combinations to describe individual processes of learning (cf. Kontiainen 1991, 23; Flood & Carson 1988, 23). Each of these combinations or potential cases could be depicted by an individual conceptual model.

An individual model

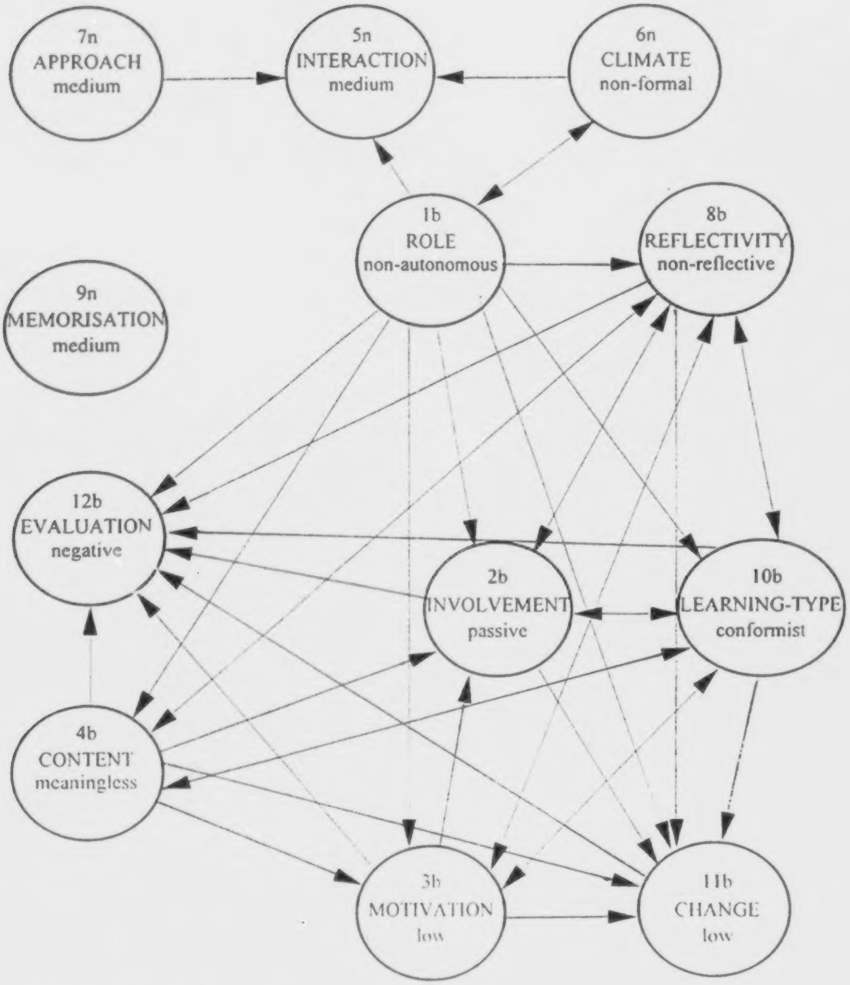
It is now possible to define individual attributes for each case in this study. The overall distribution of attributes for all 347 cases is described in Appendix 2.

We will pick up one case from a continuing education course 'From expert to trainer'. It was planned for unemployed professionals who wanted to become employed as adult educators within their own area of expertise. The programme gave them basic skills in the area of adult education, training and planning. Feedback from the students was positive, and learning outcomes were good. However, there was one person who gave an negative evaluation at the end of the course, and this person will be now studied here as a demonstrative case.

Table 2 shows the attributes depicting this person's learning experience. The table also shows the most common attributes on his course, ie. attributes selected by the majority of the participants. We will now produce a conceptual model showing the attributes and their hypothetical relations in this individual case.

Table 2. Individual attributes selected by case 05

	Concepts	**Attributes**	**The most common attributes** (selected by...of 17 students)
1	Role	non-autonomous	non-autonomous (7)
2	Involvement	passive	active (11)
3	Motivation	low	high (14)
4	Content	meaningless	meaningful (11)
5	Interaction	medium	active (12)
6	Climate	non-formal	informal (13)
7	Approach	neutral	neutral (11)
8	Reflectivity	non-reflective	reflective (12)
9	Memorisation	medium	medium (13)
10	Learning Type	conformist	innovative (8)
11	Change	low	high (7)
12	Evaluation	negative	positive (11)


7n
APPROACH
medium
5n
INTERACTION
medium
6n
CLIMATE
non-formal
1b
ROLE
non-autonomous
8b
REFLECTIVITY
non-reflective
9n
MEMORISATION
medium
12b
EVALUATION
negative
2b
INVOLVEMENT
passive
10b
LEARNING-TYPE
conformist
4b
CONTENT
meaningless
3b
MOTIVATION
low
11b
CHANGE
low

Model 1. Learning Process of Case 05

Description

A. Learner/practitioner

The student perceives his role as non-autonomous (1b). This variable receives a central position in this learning process. He considers the content irrelevant (4b).

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He is not motivated of participating the course (3b), and his involvement is low (2b).

B. Learning environment

The general atmosphere is experienced by the student as non-formal (6n). The group interaction is seen as moderate (5n); this will be understood in the model partly by non-formal learning climate and his own non-autonomous role, which may have reduced possibilities for interaction.

C. Learning/teaching

The 'theory in practice' orientation of the course does not serve directly the student himself (7n is quite isolated in the model). The learning situation is experienced quite similarly by all participants, but this individual student have had some difficulties to combine his individual process with the course process. There is no space for reflectivity (8b).

D. Outcome

The course is considered by the learner as an negative experience with no actual outcome; he haven't been able to develop individual and reflective processes of thinking (10b, 8b), and there is no change in his actual habits of thinking or doing (11b). The model suggests that this is primarily due to his lack of motivation and involvement and his non-autonomous role, as well as the meaningless content of the course.

E. Evaluation

The overall evaluation of the learning experience is negative (12b). The evaluation will be understood in this case especially by the learner's own position; his motivation has been low and he haven't been actively involved in the process at all.[1] This is partly due to the content of the course, which he perceived as irrelevant in his situation. Therefore, the course haven't been useful for him in terms of new acquired skills and knowledge.

Discussion

Adult learning is a complex process in which the learner's individual qualities, the life experience and personal history, and the life situation with social realities make unique combinations and patterns. When admitting that learning is a highly individual process there is a need to find ways to study learning processes so that the individuality could be taken into consideration. Models of learning produced in this paper give individual pictures of the processes in the general framework of adult learning.

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[1] This is understandable since the course was aimed at unemployed professionals; in some cases participation may be involuntary, e.g. required by the employment office in order to receive unemployment benefits.

In this study, as in studies in general, it is central that the research concepts are relevant and covering well enough the phenomenon in question. Twelve concepts with their attributes were considered central in this study when seeking understanding of adult learning processes. Most of these concepts have been used in earlier studies of adult learning as shown above.

The definition of concept relations is the crucial phase of this approach. The concept relations can be derived from different sources: by using research findings, by individual or team judgements, or by combining judgements and research findings. The statements of concept relations given in this paper for building the information structure and the conceptual models seemed to give quite relevant information.

However, there can be some aspects in an individual learning process which do not become sufficiently covered by these concepts. This is why it is necessary to assess the concepts and models of learning in actual cases which may give more specific information needed for understanding a particular process. The DCA method is flexible enough to accept new concepts and new definitions of concept relations. The information structure can be rebuilt and corrected when it appears necessary.

The case studies confirm the view that a conceptual model may give relevant and detailed information about the circumstances in which learning takes place. The assessments by the learners themselves are very positive.

The information structure of this study can be regarded as a framework or an implicit 'theory' of adult learning. Nevertheless, this theory cannot be verbally expressed so that all possible concept relations included in the information structure could be taken into consideration at the same time. This is the problem with all theories: only a partial theory (here: a model for a particular attribute combination of adult learning) can be expressed comprehensively.

The case studies indicate that it is not possible to describe a learning process by one general model only. Individual models, although based on general information, are likely to give more specific and real pictures of a reality. An advantage of using individual models, compared with general models, is that individual models make more precise hypotheses of an individual case, and this makes it easier to assess relevance of the information.

This paper is primarily a demonstration of possible use of conceptual models in searching greater understanding of learning processes. Conceptual models could be used, for instance, to find structures or patterns of ongoing processes, and in planning and evaluation of learning processes.

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APPENDIX 1. The information structure

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
		a n b	a n b	a n b	a n b	a n b	a n b	a n b	a n b	a n b	a n b	a n b	a n b
1. ROLE	1a autonomous						a						
	1n medium						a			n			
	1b non-autonomous						n b			b			
2. INVOLVEMENT	2a active	a		a	a	a			a		a		
	2n medium			n	n	n			n		n		
	2b passive	b		n b	n b	b	b		b		b		
3. MOTIVATION	3a high	a			a	a	a	n	a		a		
	3n medium	b			n b		n b	b	n b		b		
	3b low	b			b	b	b		b		b		
4. CONTENT	4a meaningful	a n				a	a		a	n	a		
	4n medium	b				n b	n		n	b	n b		
	4b meaningless	b				b	b		b	b	b		
5. INTERACTION	5a active	a	a	a	a		a	b	a		a		
	5n medium	b	n	n	n		n	n	n		n		
	5b passive		b	b	n b		b	a	b		b		
6. CLIMATE	6a informal	a n		a									
	6n non-formal	b		n									
	6b formal	b	b	n b									
7. APPROACH	7a theoretical												
	7n medium												
	7b practical												
8. REFLECTIVITY	8a reflective	a	a	a	a	a	a	a			a		
	8n medium	n	n	n	n	n	n	n			n		
	8b non-reflective	b	b	b	b	b	b	b			b		
9. MEMORISATION	9a high												
	9n medium							a					
	9b low							b					
10. LEARNING-TYPE	10a innovative	a	a	a	a	a	a		a				
	10n medium	n	n		n	n	n		n				
	10b conformist	b	b	n b	n b	b	b		b				
11. CHANGE	11a high	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a		a		
	11n medium	n	n	n		n	n	b	n		n		
	11b low	b	b	n b	n b	b	b		b		b		
12. EVALUATION	12a positive	a	a	a	a	a	a		a		a	a	
	12n medium	b	n b	n b	n b	n b	n b		n b		n b	n b	
	12b negative	b	b	n b	b	b	b		b		b	b	

In Matrix the statement on page 102 results in Cell 12/5:

```
                                                    Concept 5
                                                (Social interaction)
                                                    5a 5n 5b
                                                  ______________
                                 positive 12a   | a            |
      Concept 12 (Evaluation)     medium 12n    |       n   b  |
                                 negative 12b   |           b  |
                                                |______________|
```

An empty cell indicates, that it is considered not possible to make a statement of a relationship.

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APPENDIX 2. Attributes of learning selected by the students (N=347)

Concepts	Attributes	n	%
	1a autonomous	119	34.3
1. Role	1n medium	132	38.0
	1b non-autonomous	94	27.1
	2a active	203	58.5
2. Involvement	2n medium	113	32.6
	2b passive	31	8.9
	3a high	257	74.1
3. Motivation	3n medium	79	22.8
	3b low	11	3.2
	4a meaningful	200	57.6
4. Content Relevance	4n neutral	123	35.4
	4b meaningless	23	6.6
	5a active	201	58.1
5. Interaction	5n medium	116	33.4
	5b passive	29	8.4
	6a informal	165	47.6
6. Climate	6n non-formal	129	37.2
	6b formal	53	15.3
	7a theoretical	59	17.0
7. Learning Approach	7n neutral	181	52.2
	7b practical	107	30.8
	8a reflective	148	42.7
8. Reflectivity	8n medium	154	44.4
	8b non-reflective	44	12.7
	9a high	46	13.3
9. Memorisation	9n medium	111	32.0
	9b low	189	54.5
	10a innovative	130	37.5
10. Learning Outcome	10n neutral	166	47.8
	10b conformist	51	14.7
	11a high	68	19.6
11. Change	11n medium	230	66.3
	11b low	39	11.2
	12a positive	237	68.3
12. Evaluation	12n neutral	91	26.2
	12b negative	15	4.3

Kirsten Weber

THE MODERNIZATION OF MINDS - QUALIFICATION AND ADULT EDUCATION IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE WELFARE STATE

Subjective states of modernization: Burn-out or just ambivalence?

As a general rule public employees in Denmark appreciate continuing education, on-the-job training, etc. Educational measures are appreciated for their dimensions of personal growth, for their opening new paths of carrier - but also quite simply because the jobs in the public sector demand new qualifications. Sometimes, however, the new qualifications demanded by the modernization process are experienced as dequalification. Here are four quotes from teachers and pedagogues.

"This house is escalating in change. All the time something is happening. I feel I do noting but meetings, but things seem to happen in any other meeting, that the ones I attend!"
(Teacher at a College of Pedagogy, Woman, after 17 years in the job)

A predictable case of burn-out in a middle aged woman ? No:

"Now, talking about the job we are actually doing, there's no time for that. We are full up with administrative, practical, and emotional trouble. It's a constant source of frustration. And as for my own talent of problem-solving! That's spent! Used up!"
(Teacher at a College of Pedagogy, Woman, after 2 years in the job)

A crisis in the field of education ? No:

"What we experience is unsettlement. As the boss I must calm people down, keep the lid on, explain it all once more. And I tell myself, this is a time of change. Such are the times. This is how we must get used to working in the future."
(Leader of a day care centre)

"Ups and downs are alternating a bit, I mean whether you feel that everything is coming down on you, or you actually feel that you are also learning something".
(Social pedagogue in a home for desintegrated young people)

So subjective experience is about the substance of the job disappearing. Human relations and pedagogical or educational quality seem to vanish, because there's so much change, because there's so much administrative work, and because emotion seem to take the place of rational analysis. Other quotes might show sheer societal fatalism, downright hatred of the headmaster, personifying the demand for change, etc. Such states of mind border on the clinical diagosis of burn-out (e.g. Maslach 1987) and they represent challenges to the various educational procedures that are implemented by organizations, administrative and political bodies. And as the two last quotations demonstrate public servants also face facts, and experience "ups" as well as "downs" ... both relevant sets of motivation for learning.

This paper deals with one fundamental aspect of the challenge, i.e. that of the transformation of the welfare state into the so-called "responsive state" (Bredsdorff & Dam Rasmussen 1989). It constitutes the framework for and key rationale of much recurrent education. Its effects on the learning conditions are - as we can see - profound. This is perhaps most evident in the health and caring professions, where professional identity is closely linked with the historical values of the very idea of welfare. At the same time the professions as such are young, indeed as yet established as semi-professions only, so values are fragile. When values are challenged, along with demands for reorganization of daily routines, the change of qualification profile is experienced as a dramatic challenge. Courses or classrooms become less attractive: Education seem to be about un-learning something very precious!

Much current resistance, lack of motivation, burn-out and early retirement in the human professions can be analyzed and understood this way. The challenge of modernization meet the colleges of education and continuing education as well: teachers and administrators experience the very same challenge. Staff does have mixed feelings about, as well as sound political arguments against, what they must (learn to) do. If we want to establish an educational setting loyal to the experience of public employees, at the same time appreciating the relevance of modernization - well, then theoretically and practically we must put the question of interaction between societal contradictions, in this case the modernization process, and subjective ambivalence.

Negotiating social service - a contradiction in terms

So what's the challenge about in societal terms? Roughly speaking it is about redefining the actions, roles and ways of thinking of the state - represented by its public servants. Contrary to the immediate experience quoted above it is actually *not* about abstaining from using your qualifications. The social worker offering professional advice, the teacher teaching art and craft, or the pedagogue playing with a group of children may literally be performing much the same actions as he or she were taught at college - yet the situation and the implications of the actions are new and different. So maybe it is not the same piece of advice, not the same play after all?

Public employees of the welfare state were traditionally subject to central planning of services, and daily routines were guided by rules. Rules were often seen as bureaucratic, but all the same they provided a framework for professional identity, something that could be twisted a little if necessary, but also relied upon in problematic situations. Decisions were to be professionally sound, and the professional ethics still in shaping! The modernization process, forming the responsive state, demands something else: Public servants have no central planning to rely on. They must plan for themselves and for their level of the organization. The individual negotiation of services with customers - and other professions - is much more important than traditional professional values. You are supposed to make ends meet and define relative standards of excellence - often in the name of "quality improvement" (Andersen 1995).

These modes of professional action represent the implementation of a new sort of public service: Not the established, the standardized, the legally and morally sound one, but a broad variety of different services, made to fit the client/customer at the level he or she wants and on the conditions defined as his or her own. Although a blatant democratization, this seems to have dealt a deafening blow to professional self respect with many social workers - even more so when services are often challenged by competition from private companies. Public service is no longer to be thought of as a cultural good, a sign of a sound Scandinavian level of civilization, the peek to which all other peoples must look up. Public service is no longer a synonym of state rationality, but subject to rationalities of the market and of civil society, respectively. The matching of these logics is up to the individual social worker, when negotiating the service. Traditionel professional ethics cannot be relied upon. Ethics is becoming radically individualized as well.

Letting go of the role of the specialist and taking on consultancy and negotiation, oftes proves difficult. A generational experience of personally contributing to the building of the welfare state must be abandoned. Additionally we often see the message of modernization being contradicted and counteracted by agents, who should be its foremost representatives: Politicians, especially local, council ones, are slow to realize the change of their historical function. They continue to be pathetically ideological, when they should in fact be technocratic and efficient! Clients continue to behave as clients - as they have indeed been taught for years! - instead of taking over their new triumphant role of customers negotiating in their own right. And when all these examples of human inertia run together so that budget frames are not respected - who gets the blame? The public servant, who is consequently offered another course of the logics of modernization.

To which extent the responsive state actually does upholds the general characteristics of the welfare state is a matter of discussion. Professionals argue that intelligent social clients, who grasp the idea of negotiating win the chance of almost unlimited support from the public - whereas clients with less social competence, e.g. children, families with aged dements, etc. decisively loose, when standardized privileges are left. Thus polarization between "socially profitable clients" and "clients definitely desintegrated" is enhanced. The professional task of providing this modernization is morally and politically unacceptable to many a middle aged public servant. Younger professionals, who have grown up along with the de-building of the welfare state, accept the new tasks much more obligingly. So there's material for conflict within the professions as well.

Professionalism between commitment and distance

One thing is the external pressure put on work. Another vital thing is the nature of the work process itself. Human service work possesses an inherent double meaning of being useful and meaningful in itself - and yet only just wage labour, only meaningful as means to the end of keeping up a living. Much attention have been given to the threatening of workers' so-called instrumentalism towards the quality of work (e.g. Knapp 1981)! In the caring professions, however, focus is sligthly different. Various evidence and theory point to the fact that human relations demand presence of mind. Empathy, competence of changing perspective, communicative competence, or simply: commitment! is needed for the job to be done. To care for other people, even professionally, you need - to care! On the other hand care, comfort and empathy must still be administred, organized and placed in relevant portions in time and space! There's little room for spontaneity or immediate responses. The immanent distance between the wage labourer and the object of work is perhaps even more necessary in the human professions. The complex web of spontaneity and commitment versus emotional distance, analytical perspective and steering towards professional goals is the focus of theories of burn-out in the caring professions. In the context of modernization it is relevant as well. My point is that the professional identities of the human professions build on delicate, individually woven, balances between the empathy and the distance, both logically inherent dimensions of the job as such. Whether the individual practises a "warm hearted and motherly" or a "cool, matter-of-fact-ly" professionalism depends on the personality and life history, and this is not in focus here. Gender, culture, class and generation come into that. Professional training and education may *contribute to* the reflection of the paradox: administering commitment in a distanced manner - but the refining and qualification takes place in every day life, on the job. Delicate as it is, the balance is exposed in new and challenging ways when modernization is implemented. The committed dimension of the human service is deeply rooted in the ideology of the welfare state. For one thing most professionals in human service have grown up along with this ideology and have chosen it as a life perspective. And then again, the ethics and professional standards of the welfare state have provided the rationale of the professional educations in colleges of nursing, teaching, social work and pedagogy.

Paradoxical outsets of adult learning?

I have now launched two decisive dilemmas in the modernization of human service seen from a professional point of view. Firstly the transformation into negotiating and selfmanaging public servants, and secondly the demand of the job of a paradoxical webb of distance (the wage labour dimension) and commitment (the human dimension). I have argued that the latter paradox is challenged by the former. My educational message is that both levels must be reflected if educational measures, designed to modernize public service, are to prove any good.

Neither analysis is new. Indeed it should be possible to put both into words and to have public servants discuss relevant strategies of implementation, or indeed, political counteractions. So why is it that we often encounter so much resistance, so many personifications, so much fatalism within the professional groups faced with these challenges?

Self-regulated change of identity

Empirical studies point to the fact that much subjective protest aganist modernization bears the mark of utter confusion. People feel that they are told to stop doing what they are actually good at - and nobody tells them what to do instead. The confusion is actually quite a consistent subjective view of the process of modernization through self-management: Not only must people unlearn their basic values, *they must decide for themselves that this must be so.* The means of this is the management principle: The ecomocic framework is granted, and the political targets are set. When these two objective parametres are to be implemented in daily work, it is impossible to uphold routines, especially so when the new task is granted in times of economic recession. Every daily action must be looked at critically, everything must be argued, weighed and measured against the political targets. Through "target and framework control" the set, economic necessity is handed from the politicians to the governing bodies of institutions, and from them along to directors and headmasters - and last but not least to social workers, teachers, pedagogues, etc. Each professional must decide for him- or herself how to do the job, and if the job is to be done, traditional standards of excellence must be discarded.

Now that is the subjective cause of the confusion! It is demanded that public servants *decide for themselves against their own experience!* And against their perception of professional interest.

Educational measures and theoretical perspectives

Learning something you want to learn, or even something you do not want to learn, but find necessary or useful, is one thing. To redefine professional routines, built up during a life course, as a step of transforming - or "de-building" - the welfare state, you identify with, is another. In terms of educational psychology each challenge is too big; the combined challenges are too many; and the combination of challenges of social competence in reorganizing work, administrative competence in taking over new tasks, emotional involvement and cool, cognitive analysis of the transformation processes ... it's all too much of a good thing. Or maybe the paradoxical nature of the educational challenge should be respected: It represents a genuine double bind, in as much as no single move made by the individual involved will ever strike the right cord in the complex and forever changing workplace. The experience that either you act against your own principles or against those of the workplace is a realistic one! So while it is true that each public servant must learn to respect his or her role in the organization, and the governing principles developing it, it is equally true that the concepts grasping this process on the subjevtive level must be able to contain both objective contradiction and subjective ambivalence.

For educational measures to prove efficient the existential nature of the paradoxes must be respected. For education not to become just another technocratic formula for making people do what economy demands, the societal process must be understood. For existential dilemmas and societal paradoxes to mingle productively in learning processes, and help public servants to establish their professional existence in the relative freedom of "insight into necessity", we are at the moment tooling with project work centered in the problems of the work-place. Our concept of learning is founded in the theory of "Erfahrung"/Experience (Negt & Kluge 1972), and follows the psychodynamic elaboration by Regina Becker-Schmidt (e.g. 1987) on to the concept of *social learning*. Using the psychological key concept of *ambivalence* it becomes possible to view and to voice even the despair quoted at the beginning of this paper as a perception of a new, and problematic, yet interesting reality. Desintegrating professionalism may become not only a painful loss of routine and priviledge, but also an experience of contributing actively to democratization by giving the "self-managing" bodies of the responsive state one's own personal or political stamp.

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III

PROFESSIONAL CULTURES AND LEARNING

Anne-Lise Høstmark Tarrou

DIFFERENT ACCESS TO EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN MOTHER TONGUE REINFORCES DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PROFESSIONAL CULTURES

Introduction

Reducing social differences between groups has been a major objective for changes in the Norwegian school system. Equality between groups is a strong positive value in the Norwegian society, and many measures have been taken to promote equality and equity in the society. As part of such a policy, the main part of vocational education became in 1976 integrated into the upper secondary school system. New changes in the upper secondary school system, strengthening the same political trend based on the policy of equality, was implemented in 1994.

Teacher education for this sector has not been institutionalized in the same way as other teacher education in Norway (see Høstmark Tarrou 1995). Skilled workers in the craft and industry sector were recruited as teachers in trade subjects. They became resocialized into the teaching profession. Teacher education for trade subject teachers was after 1976 the remaining reform to follow up new challenges in the school system as well as in the social and cultural environment - especially in general subjects and in the trade subjects. Teachers coming from the trades to the teaching profession and persons following non-formal adult education provisions are to a great extent facing the same educational challenges characterizing adult education.

This text presents results from a study made among teachers in trade subjects and in mother language in the Craft and Industry Section (CI section) of the Norwegian Upper Secondary School. On the basis of these results cultural differences between teachers coming from different cultures are discussed.

Initial questions

The modest role assigned to the subject of mother tongue in the CI section of Norwegian upper secondary school and the modest place given to the same subject for CI teachers in their teacher education and training programmes, could be seen as problematic to teachers in CI subjects. Trade subject teachers have often received the same limited mother tongue curriculum as their students.

Could teachers of trade subjects fail to have the broad general education needed to be a teacher?

Teachers in Norwegian (N) possess a broad background in general education based on university studies. It could, however, be questioned, whether their didactical education for teaching the mother language subject in the CI section of the upper secondary school, is solid enough. Teachers in Norwegian with a study background in general education, required to teach Norwegian as an integrate part of the vocational training, are probably faced to challenges they have not been educated to meet.

Could the didactical education and training to teachers in Norwegian, teaching in the CI section not function satisfactorily as field of study in teacher training programmes?

Theoretical reference

Bourdieus search for understanding of cultural relations and differences as core issue in his theoretical work, comprising numerous studies of different humanistic and social fields, was seen as an important background for focusing on the problems raised in this study. Problems treated by Bourdieu and Passeron (1970) in the theoretical part of the Reproduction comprise education and socialisation. It is about transfer of culture from one generation to another. Transfer of culture means therefore the same as transfer of meanings[1].

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[1] The theory contains five main thesis build up on each others in a dynamic structure. Four of them - about the pedagogical action, pedagogical authority, pedagogical work and the educational system - springs out of a common 0-thesis, and follow each other successively at the same time.

"The theoretical way of asking" about the education system, described by Bourdieu and Passeron in 1970[2] (i.e. the model for a educational culture developed by him and his group) is used here to discuss problems raised on the basis of a comparison of French and Norwegian technical and vocational school system and teacher education for the same area (Høstmark Tarrou 1995).

The CI section as work place for teachers teaching a trade subject and teachers in Norwegian (as representants for general subjects), and the teacher education existing for teachers in the section are, with reference to Bourdieus theory about the educational system, seen to constitute a subfield of vocational pedagogy.

In this sub-field teachers in trade subjects and teachers in Norwegian teaching in the CI section and teacher trainers for this section, act as agents.

Upper secondary schools with vocational sections, social partners in the world of work, colleages with the authority to deliver teacher education and training to the CI section, universities with their departments of education and other teacher training institutions, are institutions in this sub-field.

In the sub-field of vocational pedagogy the constitutive groups comprises teachers in trade subjects and in general subjects and their organisations, school authorities at all political levels, social partners, with the employers and the employees organisations, institutions of teacher education and training, including departments for teacher education and university departments of education and sciences of education.

The questions raised with reference to thesis 1 - 4 i Bourdieus theory on education, highlightning problems concerning cultural differences between teachers from two professional cultures in the Norwegian sub-field of vocational pedagogy, comprise the following four areas:

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[2] Karl Jan Solstad (1984) writes in: A school for the society under chapter "A failing ideal for equality" about the new sociology which "has choosen the school as an intermediary of knowledge and values", he ei mentioning Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) postulating thet the groups of pupils not having the social and cultural privilege beeing in harmony with content and form, normes and values in which the school system is anchored, often will be pushed aside, even though striving to join programme. They argue that the content in school often is considered as "correct", as given and obvious, and not as it is in reality, as arbitrary, related to certain state of power in the society. So saying the pupils shotcoming in school is often seen as lack of natural conditions, both seen from the teachers, the pupils and the parents point of view.

The pedagogical action in the sub-field of vocational pedagogy dealing with: the relations between power forces existing in the sub-field, what type of arbritariness that is being conveyed within the sub-field, what kind of meaningful relations the culture in the sub-field is constituted of, and what kind of culture that is dominating in the sub-field.

The pedagogical authorithy in the sub-field of vocational pedagogy dealing with: what kind of legitimacy and relative autonomy the pedagogical action in the sub-field is constituted of, of what kind the lack of discovery of the pedagogical authority is, and what kinds of relations that exist between the pedagogical authority and the social relations in which it appears.

The pedagogical work in the sub-field of vocational pedagogy dealing with: what the pedagogical work consists of, how the pedagogical work in the sub-field is functioning, and the be pushed aside, even though striving to join the programme. They argue that the content in school often is considered as "correct", as given and obvious, and not as it is in reality, as arbitrary, related to certain state of power in the society. So saying the pupils shortcoming in school is often seen as lack of natural conditions, both seen from the teachers, the pupils and the parents point of view." (page 101-102) place the pedagogical work in the sub-field possesses, in relation to other pedagogical work within the education system.

The educational system in the sub-field of vocational pedagogy dealing with: features of the institutionalised education system in the sub-field and the origin of the institutional conditions for teachers in CI and in Norwegian in the sub-field of the vocational pedagogy.

The theoretical discussion of these four areas resulted in four hypothesis, the one of them concerning the place of the mother tongue education in teacher education and training of teachers in the CI section[3] .

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[3] See also Høstmark Tarrou: Comparative study of two professional cultures in the Craft and Industry Section of Norwegian upper secondary school. Dr.philos. thesis, University of Trondheim, 1995.

Hypothesis

Teachers in trade subjects have poorer qualifications in the mother tongue than teachers in general subjects, and this therefore could contribute to reinforcing cultural differences between groups of teachers and to enhancing the domination of the intellectual learning tradition. Cl-teachers, with vocational training from the world of work and a marginal general education provision (including low level of mother tongue education) possess education and training that best can be compared to that form of inculcation, by Bourdieu called *implicit pedagogy.* This produces a habitus through unconscious inculcation of principles that do not occure accept but in practical situations through the imposed practice. Teachers in Norwegian with intellectual learning from the educational system represent a theory based model of learning that best can be compared with what Bourdieu calls *explicit pedagogy,* producing a habitus by the means of a methodological organised imposition as such, of formulated and also formalised principles.

Clear differences exist between the training obtained by trade teachers with vocational training from the world of work and that of teachers in Norwegian trained through the education system concerning their training to verbalise, explain and to conceptualise the practices they know. If it is important for teachers to master such skills to be good teachers, it remains a challenge to teacher education for trade subject teachers, to develop learning strategies promoting such qualities, and it remains a question whether todays teacher education provision to CI teachers, does answer such a challenge. Marginal provision of Norwegian language learning within the education and training of trade teachers, contributes probably to maintain and to reinforce differences in status between teachers in the two groups.

The subject of Norwegian as representing general education in the CI section, with its marginal place there (measured by work hours per week) and teachers in Norwegian having the same marginal place in this section (measured by number of pupils and classes during the school year), having themselves unsufficient didactical training to facilitate the pupils learning of Norwegian

Language, will find themselves together with teachers and pupils from the popular labour culture in a cultural meeting point. This situation can in a negative way influence on their pedagogical authority. At the same time this situation might also contribute to promoting a defence for the dominant cultural arbitrariness in the rest of the education system, and thereby contribute to reinforcing the cultural differences between groups of teachers.

Hypothesis:
Different access to education in Norwegian for trade subject teachers and for teachers in Norwegian has reinforced differences in professional status between teachers in the CI section coming from different professional cultures.

Methods

A population inquiry among teachers in trade subjects and in Norwegian in the CI section of the upper secondary system in Norway, was made, based on a pilot inquiry[4]. The pilot study showed that problems of different kinds exist within teaching of Norwegian in the CI section. The interviewed teachers expressed the view that problems exist within the CI section, for pupils with their use of language, for the CI teachers with their use of the language and for the teachers in Norwegian with the ajustment of language to the trade subject area. Other problems identified through the pilot study, were linked to the CI teachers need for continuing education in Norwegian.

A concentration of questions around different aspects of the mother tongue subject in the CI section was used because it was supposed that the teachers viewpoints on the pupils ability in the mother tongue could function as a substance in which the cultural differences between groups of teachers could appear. The assumption was made that the mother tongue ought to have a central place in all teachers work, both as intermediary of culture, as culture bearer and as basis for pedagogical communication. It was supposed that this way of approaching could make it possible to study the two main categories[5] of teachers and the six sub-groups[6] of teachers in the CI section, within an arena where they were operating in a common context at the same time that they pronounsed divergent experiences.

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[4] The pilot study made by interviews of 18 teachers in mother tongue and 21 teachers in CI subjects in the CI section of the Norwegian upper secondary school, concentrated on four open questions: a. Do you have problems with the mother tongue in your teaching? If yes, what kind? b.Which problems do you consider the most important? c. How do you offer to solve them? d. What education and traing do you eventually need for to cope with such problems?

[5] Teachers in Norwegian (95) and teachers in Craft and Industry (CI) subjects (512).

[6] Norwegian (95), Handicraft (92), Mecanics (220), Electro-technicians (100), Graphic arts (26), Construction (74). A sample of 607 teachers was selected rancomly stratified within each of the six subject groups.

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One part of the questionnaire[7] deals with the place of the mother tongue issue in the CI section, in the teaching and in the teacher training and education. Two types of techniques were used to obtain the teachers opinions on the different questions. On the one hand teachers were asked to classify a certain number of statements in accordance to the importance they gave to them. In the other technique teachers were asked to give weight to each answer within a series of questions using a certain standard. Teachers were asked to say to what extent they agreed or not with the single statement, using a 7-grade scale. In the treatment of the results a regrouping of the answers was made, mostly in 3 cathegories. The results of the inquiry were analysed by one way variance analysis, cross tables and correspondance analyses.

The importance of the mother tongue subject for the pupils - some results

General overview of the results

Teachers were asked to give their opinion on three main questions, concerning the pupils problems with the subject of Norwegian and use of the mother tongue, about the pupils possibilities of succeeding in school, and about the pupils possibilities of succeeding in the mother tongue at school.

A substantial percentage part (45,0%) of the teachers gave priority to the pupils problems of expressing themselves (written and spoken), and nearly 1/3 (32,3%) of them gave priority to problems due to lack of motivation, perseverance and wish to learn as the main problems to the pupils with the subject of Norwegian at school. The teachers saw these problems as "important". It is worth noting that 10% of the teachers suggested that the pupils problem of asserting themselves due to lack of mother language knowledge was the most important one.

Over the half (53,3%) of the teachers gave priority to the statement that one can learn at any age, and this statement was ranked far ahead of all the other ones within this question. A little less than 1/5 (18,7%) of all the teachers suggested "that more pupils would have finished their schooling, if the school had better fulfilled its role". The teachers opinion about the teachers qualifications in Norwegian, as a prerequisite for the pupils success in the mother tongue subject, obtained a third place in this ranking. The pupils intelligence as prerequicite for the pupils success in .school wa.s ranked lowest.

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[7] A questionaire containing 58 questions and 212 variables was send to all teachers teaching a trade subject and teaching Norwegian in the CI section. The average percentage of return was 18,5. Whether the percentage of return corresponds to the traditional concept of percentage of answers is uncertain, due to the way the answers was collected. (See Høstmark Tarrou 1995, ch. 4)

Opinions from teachers from two professional cultures

To get a picture of the differences in opinions between teachers coming from different professional cultures, the teachers were asked to evaluate which conditions had to be fulfilled to succeed in the subject of mother tongue.

Teachers in the two main groups showed significant differences in their opinions on six statements (out of 20 possible):

- A greater proportion of teachers in CI than in Norwegian saw that the pupils had problems to assert themselves in the society due to lack of mother language knowledge.
- A greater proportion of teachers in Norwegian than in CI saw that no teaching can replace the social and cultural factors determinant for to succeed in school.
- Teachers in CI subjects had a greater proportion than teachers in Norwegian, being of the opinion that one can succeed in everything by working.
- A greater proportion of teachers in CI subjects than in Norwegian saw that the pupil having the best teacher in Norwegian, had the best possibilities for succeeding in Norwegian at school.
- A greater proportion of teachers in CI subjects saw that the pupil having the best teacher in the trade subject, had the best possibilities for succeeding in Norwegian at school.
- A greater proportion of teachers in Norwegian than in the CI subjects saw that the pupil beeing the most intelligent, had the best possibilities for succeeding in Norwegian at school.

Opinions from teachers from five trade subject groups and in Norwegian

The material made it also possible to search as to whether the teachers belonging to the different of the six subject groups[8] had any systematic influence on their opinion about the statements under the three main questions. One way variance analysis made it possible to find significant differences on the following four statements, between the opinions from teachers coming from the six subject groups:

- The pupils have problems to assert themselves in the society due to lack of mother language knowledge.
- One can succeed in everything through working.
- The pupil having the best teacher in the trade subject, has the best possibilities for succeeding in Norwegian at school.
- The most intelligent pupil, has the best chance of succeeding in Norwegian at school.

A summary of the distribution of the opinions from the six groups of teachers, illustrates the differences in the profile of the teachers from the six groups (Table 1).

Teachers in Norwegian differ most from the other groups. They give less importance to factors on which individuals can influence during the learning process, and they pay most importance to factors inherent in the single person. Teachers in mechanics and in electrotechnics constitute the most opposite opinions out of the CI groups, compared to the teachers in Norwegian.

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[8] See note 6, page 127

Table 1. Summary of teachers opinion about four statements concerning the position of mother language in the CI-section (variance analysis)

Subject group:	Pupils problems of assertion in the society, due to lack of mo. to. knowledge.	You can succeed in everything by working.	The best teacher in N, obtains the best success in N in school.	The most intelligent pupil, obtains the best success in N in school.
Norwegian	--	--	--	++
Handicraft	++	-	+	--
Mechanics	+	+	++	~
Electrotechnics	+	+	++	-
Graphique arts	~	~	~	+
Construction	-	-	+	-

Differences between groups of opinions and teachers linked to them

A correspondance analysis made it possible to analyse at the same time teachers appreciations of fourteen of the twenty statements[9] about the mother tongue and its importance for the pupils. The correspondance analyses found differences between statements, and teachers linked to them. The three first factor axis separated the opinions as showed in table 2.

The most important differences between the teachers opinions of the mother language and its importance to the pupils success in school, appears in the first three factor axis. A main distinction goes between teachers placing weight on or medium weight on factors being understood as given in the learning situation, and teachers placing weight on factors being possible to influence on in the learning situation. Between this main difference, there is possible to identify sub-groups of opinions.

One group gathered opinions placing medium weight on intelligence, giftedness and social and cultural factors of importance for the learning situation and placing medium weight on schooling, teacher education and work comitment.Linked to this group of opinions was teachers with many different features, among them: teachers amongst the eldest, with long seniority in school, with trade work certificate as their highest formal education before starting to teach, and teachers reading from time to time literature in their teaching subject or in pedagogy. Linked to this group were also found teachers placing medium weight on pupils problems with motivation, perseverance and wish to learn, on pupils problems with their self-esteem, with lack of security, and with the pupils problems with expressing themselves (written and spoken).

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[9] They constituted the *main variables* on which the correspondance analysis were constructed. The five problem areas about pupils problems for to succeed in school, were together with situation variables, put into the analysis as *supplementary variables*.

Table 2. Overview of the main differences in the teachers appreciation of the importance of the mother tongue.

Factor axis:	Negative values:	Positive values:
1. Factor axis (6,7% of eigen-walue=0,17)	Little weight or medium weight on factors given in the learning situation.	Weight on factors given in the learning situation.
2. Factor axis (6,2% of eigen-walue=0,15)	Little weight on intelligens. Weight on social and culturel factors influencing the learning situation.	Weight on intelligens. Medium weight on social and culturel factors influencing the learning situation.
3. Factor axis (5,4% of eigen-walue=0,13)	Little weight on the teachers qualifications. Weight on the pupils working conditions.	Weight on the teachers qualifications. Little weight on the pupils working conditions.

Another group gathered opinions placing weight on the qualifications of the teachers in Norwegian and on motivation. Linked to this group were found teachers teaching in upper secondary schools with only the CI-section.

A third group gathered opinions placing weight on intelligence and memory and placing little weight on the importance of the trade teachers qualifications in Norwegian for the success of the trade subject pupils in Norwegian. Linked to this group were teachers teaching many pupils during the school year, teachers with a pedagogical training from a pedagogical seminar at the university and teachers who were adjunct (4 years of study).

A fourth group gathered opinions placing little weight on intelligence, giftedness or on social and cultural factors of importance for the pupils in the learning situation. Linked to this group were teachers with the 9 year compulsory school as their highest formal education before teaching, with bad work conditions. To this group were also linked teachers placing medium weight on the pupils difficulties in gaining access to theoretical knowledge, whose professional development was hampered by the poor development of the use of language.

A fifth group gathered opinions placing weight on intelligence and giftedness. Close to this group were found teachers who said they never was collaborating in group with other teachers, being 50-59 years old, from time to time reading literature on their teaching subject or in pedagogy, and teachers in medium agreement with the statement that the pupils problems with the subject of Norwegian, was due to their problems with motivation, perseverance and the wish to learn. Teachers teaching electrotecniques expressed the view that they had neither good nor bad work conditions, and teachers who were female, were also close to this group of statements.

A sixth group gathered opinions placing weight on the pupils work conditions. This group appeared in all the three first factor plans without having teachers with any specific features linked to it.

Discussion

The place allocated to the mother tongue subject as part of general education in teacher education and the importance of mother tongue to the symbolic mastery of practice, is discussed with reference to results from the inquiry. In doing so, answers are considered, to the hypothesis that different access to education in mother tongue reinforces differences in professional status for teachers coming from two different professional cultures.

The place allocated to the subject of Norwegian as a part of general education in teacher education.

When teachers of Norwegian found their influence on the pupils success in school was of little importance, this could be interpreted as reinforcing the marginal place given to the mother tongue subject in the CI section. This result can either be interpreted as they considered good qualifications in mother tongue as not necessary for the pupils in this section, and thereby contribute to the pupils feeling of inferiority.

Or the pessimism among teachers in Norwegian about the effect of their own teaching might also be understood as if they thought it was impossible to obtain good learning of Norwegian among pupils in the CI section, especially given the poor work conditions for mother tongue and for themselves as teachers in this section. Or the result may lead to a communication of the dominant academic culture at the same time as teachers in Norwegian transfer it in such a way, that it disguise the denying of the pedagogical authority in the dominant culture. The effect of the teaching from teachers in Norwegian with little confidence in their own importance for the pupils success with the mother tongue in school, might therefore lead to a signalizing of little importance of the mother tongue subject in the CI-section, and of themselves as teachers in this section.

If teachers in Norwegian in the CI-section feel that they have little influence on the success of the pupils in school, this might also be an indication that teachers in Norwegian as well as the subject of Norwegian have a lower status in the CI-section than in general education. This can again be interpreted as suggesting that this section has a lower status than other sections in the upper secondary school system. Teachers in Norwegian can therefore signal that the CI-section is less worthy than other sections, and that teachers in Norwegian are more important in other sections, and have a greater importance and a more central place elsewhere in the education system.

Both teachers in trade subjects and in Norwegian indicated that the greatest problems for the pupils with the mother tongue were linked to problems concerning theirs ability to express themselves by the means of the written and spoken language, and a great proportion of them suggested that the biggest problem with the mother tongue, was linked to problems with motivation, perseverence and wish to learn. Taken into concideration the central place of the mother tongue in general education, this result might underline a problem for the pupils in the CI-section. But it might also express a problem for teachers in trade subjects, who have themselves the same modest mother tongue education from the CI-section.

When greater numbers of teachers in the trade subjects than in the subject of Norwegian suggested that the pupils biggest problems with the mother tongue, were linked to problems of asserting themselves in the society because of poor qualifications in Norwegian, this result reinforces the supposition about the pupils problems. It also reinforces the idea that the teachers in the trade subjects own problems to gain a dominant place in the education system as consequence of the modest place given to the mother tongue subject in the Cl-section. The result underlines, however, the central place of the academic culture as dominant culture, giving pedagogical authority to the pedagogical action in the sub-field of vocational pedagogy, as well as in general education.

The marginal place given to the mother tongue subject in the Cl section, suggests that teachers in Norwegian also act as a dominated group within the dominant culture, marginalized in the subfield of vocational pedagogy. The effects of such a position can as well lead to a reinforcement of the dominated position of teachers in the trade subjects, instead of subordinating the general subjects under the vocational trade subject culture.

Teachers in Norwegian have also a good knowledge of their pupils problems with the mother tongue subject and the use of the language, through meeting with the pupils problems during their teaching, but probably not from their own personal experience as learners. This difference could raise the question as to whether the Norwegian education society has so wished to reduce the inequalities between pupils from different groups, that it has failed to see the difficulties that exist for the pupils in the Cl-section, in particular their failure to assert themselves in the society because of insufficient knowledge in the mother tongue. The effect of saying that real problems do not exist, for those concerned, could precisely constitute a concrete example of the denying of the symbolic violence in the education system, as well as legitimizing the dominant culture in the system.

The importance of the mother tongue as a means for the symbolic mastery of practice:

If it is right as Bourdieu says, that practical skills are subordinated to the symbolic mastery of the practice, this must lead to the conclusion that for teachers whose work lacks anchorage in symbolic concepts, will give a weaker basis for teachers to master their own situation as teachers, than teaching grounded on such a mastery of practice. The training in mother language of teachers in the trade subjects during their Cl-section studies, has been given very little training in written language.

Berger (1994) found in his master thesis a predominance of spoken language features in the written language of trade teachers with low or middle degree of mastery in the use of the written language. Lindhardt has focused on differences in features of the structure of spoken language and in the the features of the written language. He states about the spoken language:

- - - thinking in oral terms, requires a much more simple structure of sentences. In a paratactic way main periods (not beeing too long) are juxtaposed. The fact is that most of the listeners are not able to sort out long periods with many elements. They loose the thread, and therefore the thread does not have to be too long. Not only the language but also the subject therefore becomes more simple. (Lindhardt 1989, page 18) (My translation.)

About the features of the written language Lindhardt argues:

In the written presentation something else goes on. The external context of the presentation itself is not of the same importance if the content has a logic construction or is organised in a structured and continual way.

In the written culture one will seek the linkage between elements in another way, namely in such a way that the one link follows necessarily the other. This means that it is orgainised in such a way that there is a *logical* order, and that this constitutes the "meaning" in the presentation. Thereby the written culture can establish a consciousness about the distinction between the external expression and the internal meaning. This phenomenon is also supported by the obvious fact that the written letters and words themselves do not be a bearer of any meaning. They have only the meaning "we" attribute to them, i.e. they are a result of a *convension*. In themselves they only represent signs and do not possess any "reality".

If the real meaning does not lie in the external language, but in the concepts behind it, through which it is expressed more or less perfect, this gets wide implications for the understanding of the language and of human beeings. (Lindhardt 1989, page 19 and 20) (My translation.)

Lindhardt means that the spoken language and the written one are favorizing two different forms of understanding. In the spoken language thinking is mostly metaphoric, while it in the written language is mostly logic. (Lindhardt 1989, page 19). A professional culture characterized by the spoken language might reduce the use of concepts in the language, while a professional culture anchored in the general academic education, with clear preferences to the written language, might have made a deeper development of concepts for phenomena treated in their work as teachers.

If the written language has such an effect on the development of concepts in a study field, the result of giving such a marginal place to the written use of the mother tongue, as it has been done in the Cl-section and in the teacher education to the trade subject teachers, will hamper the development of concepts, and develope a dominated place for trade subject teachers within the education system, as well as elsewhere in society. Trade teachers who have not sought for training in the written language on their own, have not obtained a high degree of mastery of the written language.

The advantages of the master-apprentice model of learning, characterizing most of the vocational training of the Cl-section teachers, lies in the internalized practical skills inherent to such a training. Such teaching model is however limited, if it does not include the possibility of making steps in the learning process and their social context explicite to the pupils, and even more to the student teachers. It is therefore suggested that a modest modern tongue education becomes an impediment to trade subject teachers and hampers their possibility of symbolic mastery of practice, and it is possible that little weight on written use of the language in the training towards the teaching profession, might be a means of maintaining the dominated (subordinated) place of Cl-subject teachers in the education system.

When the inquiry showed the rather surprising result that teachers in the trade subjects were placing more weight on the importance for the pupils in the Cl subjects having a good teacher in Norwegian, to be able to succeed in Norwegian at school, this result could on the one hand be seen as an expression of an exclusion from a broader general education background. On the other side, this result might also say something about the pessimism among teachers in Norwegian of the importance of their role to help the pupils in the Cl-section to succeed in Norwegian at school. This might reflect a resignation stemming from their own experiences about results obtained for their endeavour in teaching Norwegian in the Cl section, with difficult material conditions, many pupils, many classes per year, and few work hours per pupil.

However, such a pessimism expressed from the teachers in Norwegian could have different origins. First, a greater proportion of the teachers in Norwegian than in the trade subjects, was placing more weight on the importance of intelligence for pupils success in school and with the mother tongue subject. The same teachers were placing more weight on memory as important condition for succeeding with Norwegian in school, and gave little weight to the pupils working conditions. Teachers in Norwegian, and women teachers held such opinions, while teachers in electrotechnics and in handicraft subjects agreed less with such opinions. When, however, teachers in Norwegian placed the most weight on intelligence and memory, and placed little weight on the importance of their own comitment as teachers in the CI-section, this can at the same time lead to an implicit signal to the pupils, from these teachers, of a modest believe in the existance of such qualifications among pupils in the CI-section.

The modest self-evaluation from teachers in Norwegian about their own influence on the pupils success with the Norwegian subject in the CI-section, might therefore contribute to reinforcing the dominated (subordinated) role of the subject of Norwegian in the CI-section, and to underline the dominated role of the CI-section within the education system, and thereby contribute to give a dominated place to the labour culture, which politically is sought introdused as the dominant culture in the sub-field of the vocational pedagogy.

Summary

Trade subject teachers' more modest mother tongue qualifications than that of teachers in Norwegian, appear to contribute to reinforce differences in professional status between groups of teachers, and to reinforce the power of the academic learning tradition. The differences in opinions suggest differences in the mother tongue education given to teachers coming from different cultures, beeing of such a character that they contribute to reinforce differences in professional status for different groups of teachers. It might therefore be possible that trade subject teachers, up on till now have no means of obtaining the broad general education required to be a teacher, because of the modest place of the mother language in the CI-section, and in the teacher education and training for trade subject teachers with vocational background.

Teachers in Norwegian meeting pupils and teachers coming from the labour culture, can seem to have problems feeling at ease in the CI-section. The material work conditions under which the mother tongue teachers have to function in the CI-section, with few work hours per pupil and classes, and many classes within the school year, could create a difficult didactical challenge. This is reinforced by the modest didactical education given to teachers in Norwegian teaching in the CI-section. Both these conditions could have a negative effect on the pedagogical authority of the teachers in Norwegian in the sub-field of vocational pedagogy, and might therefore foster a defence for the dominant culture, at the same time as it legitimates it. In such a way teachers in Norwegian could become foreigners to the cultural frame in which the pupils are functioning, at the same time as they appear as representatives of the dominant culture in a field where the ideal for the education policy since long time has been to give a dominant position to the popular labour culture.

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Jan Holmer

LEARNING IN ORDER TO CONTROL.
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AS A SUPPORT FOR WORKING PEOPLE WITH LITTLE FORMAL SCHOOLING

Evaluation of courses designed for people at work, in particular those with little formal education

Background

A number of university students were asked to indicate their planned future activities on an imaginary life-line from 18 to 60. For the female group the results revealed a curve with a clear downswing for full-time employment. This characteristic downswing in the women's curve had a virtually no equivalent in the male technicians' and engineers' life-line. The men expected and planned a future which would give them the opportunity to alternate gainful employment with periods of travel, the development of competence, and hobbies. The women's planned education and professional career, on the other hand, was more concerned with how to alternate work and family (Bjerén & Elgqvist-Saltzmann 1991, 76-91).

It is important to note this difference in life-line curves, particularly considering the opportunities for recurrent education and so-called lifelong learning. Educational planners have plotted straight lines, women often follow winding paths. These are paths that are lined with housework and responsibility for the family. It is not until they reach middle-age that they can start thinking about education and a career.

Today, changes are occurring in working life, with an increase in the demand for knowledge, not least at the middle and lower levels in the organisation, i.e. those levels where many women are to be found. The talk is of 'flatter organisations', more responsibility and greater authority. But because of the nature of the work, many people lack the knowledge to meet the new situation and therefore need educating.

Nearly a third of those between the ages of 25 and 64 in Sweden left school at the age of sixteen or earlier. Nearly half have upper secondary education and almost a quarter have university or college education. Thus, there are many with little education and the universities, in particular, have had difficulties in reaching these groups.

In order to deal with these deficiencies and to satisfy the demands noted above, Göteborg University has set up a steering committee with responsibility for courses designed for people at work, in particular those with little formal education.

Activities

Since 1989 the steering committee for work-oriented education has given eleven different short courses, most of them on more than one occasion. About 400 people in work have taken part in them[1] .

The content of the courses is largely based on the results of recent research, thereby enabling these results to reach the workplace very rapidly. The researchers/teachers receive a direct response from practitioners and the learning process thereby become two-way.

The form the courses have taken has been a combination of seminars and study circles which has sought to unite the university tradition of critical analysis with the study circle tradition of participant activity.

The teaching has been closely linked with the activities at the participants workplaces.

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[1] The evaluation concerned courses given right from the start - the autumn of 1989 - and up to the autumn of 1993, a total of eight courses. With one exception, each of the courses was given at least twice. The courses (1989-1994): The EC and Working Life (basic course and continuation course); The Workplace and the External Environment; Future Strategies for Working Life; The Work of Change in Project Form; Medical Aspects of the Working Environment; Communication, Information, Argumentation; Legal Aspects of Working Life; Greater Knowledge - Lower Household Expenses; Gothenburgers in Close-up; Conflicts and Solving Them. The number of students who took part in the courses covered by the evaluation was about 280. About 50 of these did not receive the questionnaire that was sent out (because they had moved etc.) of the remaining 230,185 responded. This means that 80 % of those who took the courses and received the questionnaire by post responded and the non-response rate was thus 20 %.

Results

A recently published evaluation (Steering Committee for Work-Oriented Education 1995, 3) shows that:

- The courses have attracted new groups of students, mainly women. The typical participant was a forty-five-year-old woman, gainfully employed in the municipal/health care sector, with brief formal education and without previous university education.

- The educational programme has given the participants an opportunity to structure and reflect on their experiences at work.

- The courses, once completed, have been of use in the processes of change at the participants' workplaces and in new educational activities.

- Information about the courses has been spread in a 'two-stage flow'; many participants have taken part in the courses on the recommendation of previous participants.

- Almost all the participants want to continue with university studies, especially courses of a similar type.

The courses seem therefore to have provided the participants with the possibility of developing constructive attitudes to changes in their environment. This has contributed to a development of their interest in and ability to seek new knowledge.

The conclusions that the steering committee drew from this evaluation were that the university should and can be a major resource for those who have in practice previously not been prioritised in educational contexts and who today are being given more responsibility and authority but lack the necessary foundation to meet the new situation. In the view of the steering committee, people at work need this type of education and the community as a whole needs it. But the committee also noted that educational policy and funding has not favoured these developments.

The structure of the chapter

First, I shall provide a short background to the need for the type of education discussed here, which, in my view, is a result of the increased division of labour, growing knowledge gaps and a consequent cultural crisis. Many people, both at work and outside it, have lost contact with the whole and no longer have an overall view which would enable them to understand contexts. Thereafter, I present the notion that what is needed is what I term contextual education. This is a form of adult education that is compensatory and selective, and which aims to provide better opportunities for the participants in the ongoing or planned processes of change. Next, I relate this education to the courses discussed in the evaluation and point out the type of content and form that is necessary. Finally, I place the need of education in relation to lifelong learning. My conclusion is that adult education of the type I am referring to here can play an important role in lifelong learning for disadvantaged groups in society.

Increased division of labour, growing knowledge gaps and the need of an overall view

Like gender and class, the division of labour leads to organisational material and ideological distinctions between people. With the Anglo-Saxon researchers Sayer & Walker (1992), we may speak of three aspects of the division of labour in society.

The first aspect is expansion. An expansion and further division of the work carried out before and after the manufacture of our everyday products is taking place. This is seen in what we term the service society.

The second aspect is hierarchical. This is apparent in organisations, between groups, in management etc. We live in, for example, pyramids or flat organisations.

The third is intellectual. This is seen in increasing specialisation, growing ignorance and in the gap between various kinds of users and maintenance experts for instance. We speak of the information or knowledge society.

Changes in the division of labour are seen in the fact that qualification requirements are changing, not least at the middle and lower levels in the organisation. The flatter organisations place demands on knowledge that involve more and more people having to use their ability 'not only to choose methods and evaluate results but also to diagnose the situation' (Ellström 1992, 72). An overall view of work is required, an individual needs to know how the whole works and to have a picture of reality that includes a perspective both backwards and forwards in time.

The division of labour is also seen in the fact that increasing numbers of people are finding themselves outside work altogether. In many cases neither work nor leisure provides an opportunity for increasing knowledge. Thus many people lack an overall view, a deficiency which is grounded in what occurs both at work and outside it. As Larsson (1995, 10) puts it, it is a question of a growing knowledge gap, of something that is increasing in everyday life; it is thus not so simple that it is entirely a matter of level of education.

Creating contexts

The German scientist Negt (1994) speaks of a cultural crisis (or a crisis of erosion). People are losing contact with the whole. Existence appears increasingly chaotic and difficult to grasp, with the result that more and more people need training in, at least, six competences:

1. Overarching competence. Consider, for instance, how television presents one piece of news' after another in a fragmentary fashion. It does not examine how the parts might fit together. The context needs to be explained. Furthermore, each individual needs to be able to relate this to his everyday life.
2. Ecological competence. Caring for the environment, other people, and oneself.
3. Awareness of the other reality, of the increasing numbers of people outside the 'good society'.
4. Historical competence. The ability to remember and to construct utopias (about, for instance, a different kind of society).
5. Awareness of law and rights, and of the ongoing 'expropriation' of thought.
6. Technological competence, on technology and its consequences

According to Negt, the most important goal of education is the first one. With the aid of so-called exemplary learning, a person will be attain the ability to understand society as a whole. This means that information about economics, sociology, natural science etc. should be transmitted in such a way that it relates to the life context of those who are learning[2] .

Negts's model seems to be close to what I term contextual education.

Contextual Education

Elsewhere, I have suggested that employees with little education and at lower levels in the company need a specially designed programme of education as a support in ongoing processes change and learning (Holmer 1994). Here education should act as a complement to ordinary vocational training, possible professional training and such general education as is provided by compulsory school.

I define contextual education as a systematic learning about the company and its environment so designed that the participants gain in awareness and skill in preparation for greater mobility in their jobs. It is a question of mastering extensive productive wholes, several areas of production, economic fundamentals and the principles underlying the production policy that is being pursued. The individual should come to understand the technical, organisational and economic systems which have been constructed around the business he is involved in, as well as the environment and the mechanisms which bring about change in the company. This entails developing the employees' inner representation of the whole company and its environment, in the present, past and future.

With reference to Frese's model for analysing working conditions in terms of the opportunities for control and learning (Frese 1978, 207-235 and Aronsson 1987, 120-123), this means knowledge at three structural levels: the workplace (occupation, product, management etc.), the company, and society. To be able to carry out extensive and coherent planning, the individual or the collective must have knowledge at the company or societal level which relates, for example, to the formation of companies, investments, changes in occupational structure, market mechanisms.

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[2] I have given a relatively detailed summary of Negt's model in my thesis (Holmer, 1987; 47,178-179, 259-271, 326-327). A summary can also be found in Härnsten (1991, p. 60 ff) with reference, among other things to my "introduction" of Negt in Sweden. Negt's model means that the groups concerned are educated on the basis of two principles: exemplary learning and sociological imagination, The exemplary principle means that the individual item/subject that is studied during the course can function as a mirror of the whole and can be placed in a wider societal perspective. Sociological imagination refers to the development of the participants' ability to move from one angle to another, for instance to see structural contexts in individual life histories.

Developments in the labour market give us reason to suggest the possibility of a contextual education for other groups in society as well, for instance, the unemployed, an education which can form part of lifelong learning with the aim of creating greater understanding of the world around us and thereby increasing the competence to control. The aim of the education might, in this case, be reflective awareness, the ability to provide constructive criticism and to find realistic alternatives[3] .

In both cases, it is a matter of an adult education which can be compensatory and selective and which aims at improving opportunities for participating in ongoing or planned processes of change. The new qualifications that are needed (i.e. the knowledge and skills which, in the form of so-called competence, will be converted into work) are both those that can be associated with flexibility in the workplace and those that make mobility in the labour market possible.

Gestrelius (1986) writes about the need of an education which provides an employee perspective on an unstable labour market, an environment that is difficuit to understand and a company in a state of permanent change. As he concludes (p. 116): "Employees at an operative level, employees with brief or medium-length education, thus not only have a need of vocational training and traditional general education. They also need knowledge about the companies' situation in our type of market economy and skills in how to act on the labour market themselves as well as generalisable knowledge for as yet unformulated future problems. If we accept this assertion it will be necessary to make clear what this means in terms of the content and forms of a future educational programme for wage labour".

Since developments are moving fast and since it seems as if people are less and less able to imagine what the future will be like even in the short term, we must, with Gestrelius, place great emphasis on generalisable knowledge, knowledge that is applicable in broad areas.

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[3] Manninen (1992) writes about such tools for critical reflection in training for the unemployed. Unemployment entails a conflict situation where individuals need to develop different strategies to cope with it. In many cases re-employment is unrealistic and there may be a need to find alternatives to wage labour. Thus Manninen is searching for appropriate (emancipatory) models for adult learning in educational programmes for the unemployed. In this context he refers to Lindeman (1926), Freire (1972), Mezirow (1981) and Brookfield (1985) among others.

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Determining the content and form of contextual education

The question is, then, how we can determine "what this means in terms of the content and forms of a future educational programme for wage labour". It is my belief that the following questions are among those that may be asked about contextual education as the subject of a social science study (cf. Häyrinen & Hautamäki 1977):

- What is the background against which we should see the need for contextual education (the philosophical/social background)?

- How can contextual education be perceived as a question of educability (the socio-psychological background) ?

- Within what frames of reference and under what circumstances is contextual education to have an effect in terms of work and the labour market (the sociological background)?

- What means can be used to implement contextual education (the pedagogical background?

In terms of the pedagogical background, contextual education may be seen as education (content etc.), as teaching (method, comparison with study circles etc.), and as a network (cooperation between providers of education like the university and various societal organisations, employee groups etc.). One question concerns, for instance, the link between what today is termed learning at work and the educational activities associated with adult education.

One of the tasks of research is to formulate and reformulate concepts. Contextual education may be seen as a question of education and issues of content and form can be resolved on the basis of both empirical organisational studies and theoretical analyses of education.

My conclusions regarding the need for contextual education may be compared with similar research and with approaches to education derived from this research. We may then find that the need for education and its context are determined on the basis of the everyday experiences of the workers (Fricke 1983), inner contradictions in the development of work (PAQ 1980), general human actions in work (Volpert 1979), developmental work research (Toikka et al. 1985; Y. Engeström & R. Engeström 1986) or the study of the social topics etc. of various groups (Negt 1978; 1994).

Contextual education in relation to vocational/occupational courses

It should be apparent that the courses provided by Göteborg University for groups of employees who are caught up in rapidly changing situations contain several of the features of contextual education as outlined above.

The outcomes and effects of the education

The evaluation shows that those who have taken part have been able to apply their knowledge to start their own educational activities at their workplaces and have been active in projects concerned with change at the companies concerned. With their knowledge, self-confidence and interest, the participants are more able to control and influence their work or choice of work and their living conditions in general. By linking production and knowledge, the education has led to a general improvement in the level of education, the competence to control and preparedness for work.

These results tally in general terms with what Larsson (1995, 11-12) distinguishes as four kinds of outcomes of effective education: firstly, interpretations which differ from those the individual made at the commencement of his studies. Secondly, the studies may provide the individual with a basis for developing new interests, which means that he or she makes different choices. Thirdly, more extensive studies often lead to a different type of working life. Finally, one of the best proven effects of adult education is increased self-confidence. This makes it possible to participate in new contexts.

I will refer in greater detail below to what Larsson has to say about possible effects (see also notes 2 and 3).

The contribution of the university

All in all the education under discussion involves the development of competence in an interactive process, with interaction between several parties. It is a process which will provide an increasing number of people with the opportunity to see the overall context of a change in society which is perhaps so revolutionary that we find it difficult to see and so complex that we find it difficult to understand.

The university, it has been said, represents society's greatest collection of analytical resources and also its most extensive educational apparatus at the level of adult education.

Seen from the perspective of the researcher, the education concerned may be a way of making research more accessible, of testing the value of research and of renewing it. Seen with the eyes of the practitioner/user, it is a way providing those at work with greater opportunities for developing constructive approaches to changes in their environment.

Education is a matter of constructing meaning. One of the ideas of university education is, then, that it provides an opportunity for the participants to allow themselves to be challenged and to examine their knowledge, their values and their beliefs more closely. This means that research and research results should be presented in such a way that the participants can acquire methods and meaningful material to structure and reflect on their experiences.

Theoretical knowledge as a support in everyday reality

The steering committee's evaluation emphasises the fact that theoretical knowledge may be needed as a support in everyday reality. There are three types of knowledge: declarative knowledge, knowledge that comes from familiarity, and proficiency (see e.g. Göranzon 1990). Whilst declarative knowledge may be associated with theory and instructions as tangible material for reflection, knowledge gained by familiarity is of the type that cannot easily be formulated in rules. It is often 'tacit knowledge' Together with proficiency, it may be seen as an expression of an individual's own experiences acquired through lifelong learning.

One of the particular tasks of adult education is therefore to consider what theory can provide a meaningful background for education, what kind of theory may be of use for reflection on one's own experiences. (The challenge for adult education, according to Larsson (op. cit.) lies in improving the opportunities for finding knowledge in everyday life for those whose everyday life has been a poor source of knowledge.)

On one of the steering committee's courses the pedagogical idea was expressed in the following terms "throughout the course the participants shall apply the theoretical knowledge to their everyday reality. Therefore, at the start of the course, the participants and the teachers will decide on an appropriate problem from the participants' workplaces as the point of departure for the work on their own curriculum during the course. Often two or more participants come from the same workplace and they then work together. The goal is for them to work out a project plan which can be implemented at their own workplace" (Ellegård & Lidström-Widell 1993, 6). The evaluation of the course shows that in all cases but one the participants completed the projects that were planned: "The participants... have demonstrated the ability to make new demands on the management of their respective employers. The projects studied are in line with the accepted strategy but have been implemented on their own terms" (op. cit. 15).

Lifelong learning and recurrent education

"The notions of lifelong learning or lifelong education... can be briefly described as an ideology of learning and education as a lifelong process, where the organised educational system only accounts for a small part of all the learning that occurs. The largest part occurs through so-called informal learning, i.e. learning outside the education institutions, at work or during leisure time" (Borgström 1988, 118).

For a time there was much talk about recurrent education - and before that, lifelong learning. Lifelong learning is now in focus again (even though utility has replaced justice as the buzzword in the context). EU has even designated 1996 as an educational year for lifelong learning. Thus, there is good reason to recall the importance of adult education as a systematic means of creating awareness and skills to enable people to control and develop activities at work and in society as a whole[4]. Research shows that learning in adulthood can be compared to a process of personal development that is characterised by different phases of equilibrium. Adults learn when they can reorganise and enrich what they already know. Adult education can play the role of reorganisation and enrichment for those who do not have good opportunities for acquiring new knowledge. The lifelong learning which occurs naturally at and outside work needs to be complemented with the systematised learning which is called education.

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[4] I see learning as a shift between qualitatively different perceptions of the same phenomenon or qualitatively different ways of performing the same task (Marton,Hounsell & Entwistle, 1984). That somebody has learnt something can be seen in the fact that they have a changed perception of themselves and their environment (op. cit. 10).

Concentrated efforts are required

A recent evaluation of how the Swedish Working Life Fund has utilised its funds shows that, had these funds not been available, companies would not have invested in education to the extent that actually occurred (Andersson et al 1995). Perhaps a third of all employees received some form of education[5]. For the majority of them, the education primarily had an effect on work methods and the use of machines etc. The evaluation shows that, by investing in education etc., companies achieved various kinds of improvement and thus probably increased their productivity.

At the same time, it was found that there was a tendency that 'unto to those that hath, shall be given'. Education was given, to a greater extent and with more benefit, to those who already had relatively qualified jobs.

This tendency is not unexpected. It is what 'usually occurs' in education. It underlines the fact that, in connection with 'the ongoing work of change', more attention must be paid to employees with unqualified jobs and their need of education. Otherwise the gap will become even wider, not only as regards education but also - and more importantly - as regards the opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge because of the demanding content of the work and the possibilities it provides for control[6].

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[5] Generally speaking there was a considerable increase in personnel training in Sweden from the end of the 1980s with a decline again in 1993. Since then it has increased again: in 1994 more than I 1/2 million individuals or 38 %, of those employed took part in educational programmes paid for by their company (SCB 1994). It is still the case that the highly educated are trained the most, and white-collar workers twice as often as blue-collar ones. However, those blue-collar workers who actually did participate in a programme received longer training that the white-collar workers. There are great differences between industries and sectors as regards participation in personnel training. Furthermore, it is obvious that the content of the training varies considerably.

It is true that the educational system can only account for a small part of all the learning that occurs in a lifelong process. But *seen in a distributive perspective the evaluation reported above shows that an effective adult education can play a major role in lifelong learning.* Organised learning in the form of recurrent education for adults can be a significant complement, particularly for those groups in society who are disadvantaged.

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[6] Karasek & Theorell (1990) among others have shown the significance of control and demands. With the aid of their 'demand-control model' it is possible to demonstrate that passivity is learnt as a consequence of low demands and low decision latitude, whilst satisfaction arises when demands are low and the potential for control is high. The development of active learning and competence can be plotted along one diagonal which has both high demands and a high level of decision latitude. In a corresponding manner, the risk of stress (tension and illness) can be plotted along the other diagonal which has high demands, but low decision latitude. Apart from the dimensions of demand and decision latitude, the model suggests that stress and learning are affected by the support the individual receives from management and fellow-workers.

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Bengt Petersson and Per Olof Thång

THE CHALLENGE TO WORKING LIFE EDUCATION

Introduction

This article sets out to briefly present some outline and disclosures of and from a working life education project which was carried out between 1992 and 1995: Learning and Education for an Industry in Transition (LUNO-projektet). The project was initiated by the Gothenburg branches of the Affiliated Trades Union Organisation (LO) and Swedish Employers Organisation (SAF), in collaboration with the Department of Education and Educational Research at Göteborg University. Behind the initiative of both the above named organisations for making contact with the university, was a shared concern regarding developments in the labour market in the 1990ies, particularly with regard to the situation of short-educated non-tradesmen .

The two parties felt that the transitions within the labour market towards more up to date organisation of labour placed increasing competence demands on employees. The view was that conflicts could ensue between the demands of new labour related activities and individual capabilities to carry these out.

However, a further background was the known economic difficulties experienced by some of the more well known Gothenburg companies during the 1990ies. Changes in the employee composition at the companies and their organisation of labour and production had been made, and initiatives had been established via the State and Regional political arenas supported by public funding, to finance educational developments for industrial employees as one means of reducing unemployment.

The industrial situation in West-Sweden, as in Europe in general, is one in which personnel education/qualification initiatives and competence development efforts are skewed. This was visible both in existing statistics and in case studies carried out at the Department of Education and Educational Research at Göteborg University. In addition, both industrial management and industrial employees seem also to have a rather narrow view of education, as something which becomes of relevance first and primarily only in a direct relation to work related activities.

The project thus attaches to central problem areas. Partly to adult education backgrounds and employee possibilities for obtaining education within a work/labour framework. Partly to the present changes to production which lead to employees being confronted by new demands on their skills and knowledge. In this vein an array of different issues are awakened regarding both education and the labour market, notable amongst which are learning and education at individual sites of labour, i.e. questions concerning competence and qualification.

Purpose

The purpose of the project has been to map out what the genuine needs for competence development among ancillary labour are, and to investigate the capabilities of different companies in formulating these needs and their wishes and making there after demands on education providers and organisations. Another purpose has been to develop models for competence development among production staff within the production industry, i.e. models for learning in working life.

Methods

All in all five companies took part in the project. Two of these came from the food industry, two from the plastics industry and one petrochemical industry. A further food industrial company took part in the initial stages of the project, but was withdrawn at an early stage by its management, who felt the company to already have adequate education/training activities for its employees. Amongst the other five organisations, the petrochemical industry offered production employees some educational opportunities and competence development. The other four companies very rarely offered any such opportunities to their production staff.

A stepwise method was adopted which is best captured on a point for point basis as follows:

(a) The formulation of aims and definition of local goals. Members of local management and local trades unions were involved in the activities.

(b) Interviews with key figures at the companies. For instance, foremen/-supervisors and specialists.

(c) At the conclusion of the initial stages, a description of the present situation and a preliminary action plan for each company was formulated.

(d) Extensive interviews with employees with a shorter than average formal education were carried out. For these, demarcated departments were taken as were in some cases demarcated employee categories within them. Samples were drawn on the basis of collaborative efforts involving representatives from the project group, the companies themselves and the trades unions.

(e) The interviews were processed, analysed and then presented both orally and in written form.

(f) The results from the interview analyses were presented for personnel- and production managers at the companies.

(g) Different follow up activities were initiated.

Staff interviews were directed towards questions intended to investigate what kinds of knowledge were desired with respect to the company and/or their own production roles in it, i.e. towards finding out what employees were interested in knowing more about (what they were "curious about and interested in"). They came to concern unanswered questions concerning production and the company, and were questions which had been carried by employees for some time. The assumptions behind this strategy of questioning was that learning can take a starting point from such questions; i.e. that knowledge development obtains an initial power from such "why-forms" of question.

Management personnel and union representatives were also asked for their views concerning competence development needs.

The project carried some characteristics of action research. With respect to some educational initiatives, project staff from the university have acted as educational consultants.

The production personnel group

Common to all the involved companies, except for the petrochemical industry, where initiatives were directed towards maintenance staff, was that the demands for qualified professional knowledge amongst production staff were absent. During the project however, this picture changed somewhat, such that later on new employees were increasingly required to have obtained greater levels of pre-job and formal school education. There were clear trends toward greater levels of automation and rationalisation at the companies across the duration of the project as well. At two of the companies the number of employees was also reduced across the duration of the project. It may be interesting to note that a lot of the employees were favourable towards increased levels of automation, despite it being quite clear that this would lead to fewer job opportunities. What was responded positively towards was the reduction in both heavy and monotonous production tasks. For most of the employees an increased level of automation har both a positive and negative aspect.

Looking at levels of formal education showed that almost half of the production employees who took part in the project had at least a two-year upper-secondary (gymnasium) education behind them. Many of them however lacked a clear vocational training and had left school with low grade-point averages. Interest in school studies had been low for most of them and their interest in competence giving adult education was also limited. Maintenance personnel were a bit of an exception to this. Here however we were dealing with tradesmen (mechanics, instrument-technicans and electricians).

Work activities

Except for the duties of the maintenance personnel, most production related activities concerned machine operation and packaging. With respect to qualification requirements, there was some spread between on the one hand just more or less "watching" machines and on the other actually operating some more advanced industrial robots.

As one of the strands in the analysis of competence demands, the production staff were asked to make a "self-assessment" of the education, competence and qualification pre-requisites which provided the pre-conditions for a good "on-the-job performance". We posed questions such as: What characters the skill demands of this job? What can he/she do? What characteristics does he/she have? Are there any special requirements for this or that activity?

When confronted by these types of question, very few employees directed their attention distinctly towards the job or activity itself. The majority in fact indicated that it was more a case of personal qualities being essential for good work. Issues such as being helpful, calm, having interest and a desire to learn the tasks, being able to adapt to different kinds of people, being thorough, were often mentioned. That is, being good at the job often seemed to mean being independent and able to carry out tasks without help. In other words, in the main, personal capabilities rather than specific task related knowledge were lifted up as essentials. On the other hand, when questions were posed in terms of what employees desired more knowledge about, the answers became more task/work specifically oriented.

Interest in learning and education/training

A majority of the employees we spoke with were positive towards the educational opportunities offered by the companies and the trades unions. However, usefulness of for instance project-, quality and basic union education provision was questioned. The majority of employees were not particularly interested in adult education. A number of reasons were given for this, for instance being too old, not wanting to draw economic encumbrances upon oneself, lack of interest, not knowing what to educate oneself towards. Kristensen (1989) discusses participation in adult education studies as deriving from an imbalance between an individuals readiness to change and breaks with previous involvement, caused for instance by unemployment, enhanced qualification demands at work, women breaking from work in the home. If Kristensen's hypothesis is correct, the majority we interviewed have not provided evidence of imbalance. Our interpretation of views of adult education and continual learning are that the majority only regard these as distant possibilities at the present time. However, this could become a necessity if drastic changes in work or unemployment ensue. One aspect of this seems to us to be that the over-arching transitions in the labour market and how these can influence immediate work/labour situations are invisible to the employee categories we spoke with. On this basis there is no interest for adult education as a means for meeting transitional circumstances amongst them, and their attention is instead directed inwards towards the immediate working situation and a desire for more knowledge about this.

Views of learning at the work-place

We have found a great variation between the different companies with regard to the possibilities seen by personnel for learning in or through their work. When questions were posed to employees about learning at work at one of the companies, about a third of the respondents (29) indicated that it was not possible to learn anything. Work was comprised in the main of routine activities and recurrent moments. Yet a large proportion still indicated that learning was in some sense a possibility. At another company only 3 of 24 respondents saw any development possibilities at their work-place. Maintenance crews in the processing industries saw plateaus in their development. Periodically quite profound developmental learning took place, at other times development was described as "standing still". Development resonated with length in employment at the company, the duties one had been given, changes in the organisation of labour and technical developments at the work-place.

Interest in learning

Development needs seem to fall within a number of main areas at several of the companies, e.g. computing, problem resolution in technical fields and communications. And there was great interest at work-places concerning for instance orientational knowledge about production and organisation forms. This concerned amongst other issues production and ordering processes, material treatment, economics and quality control. Knowledge concerning computing was also indicated to be sought after, but expressions such as "I want to learn computing" are difficult to interpret and we have found it quite difficult to be specific regarding needs in this field. Perhaps the notion of the need as an expression of our present historical moment is appropriate. People seem to want to learn computing mainly because it is new to them and they know little about it. Perhaps this is an expression for an uncertainty which many short-educated employees seem to carry concerning their difficulties in "keeping in touch" with technical developments. Several of the respondents spoke on how their children were learning about computers and computing whilst they themselves knew little or nothing about such things. In some cases perhaps what was being expressed was a need of education in order to be able to act as a better educational resource or support for one's children .

The challenge to working life education

The space for learning inside production processes is extremely limited. This is particularly so for the kinds of tempo-labour and noisy environments characteristic for many of the production companies we have worked with. Further, whilst production managers are often positive towards the idea of education for employees at a general level, their ideas diverge quite dramatically concerning exactly how this should take form in relation to production demands. The requirement seems to be to develop learning situations as a natural part of work itself. Such situations could be sought in conjunction with production planning, follow-up and maintenance of technical equipment. However, an agreement within management concerning the value of the development of competence and qualification among employees is a must.

Functions by facilitors for learning

We would like to discuss a number of functions which should be seriously attended to by organisations in order to facilitate the learning process (van Engelshoven 1995). Specifically supervision, educative function, guidance and developmental function.

Supervision is often carried out by very experienced personnel with vast familiarity with the substantive focus of the supervisory task, such as the maintenance of complicated machinery, the use of special equipment and so forth, and perhaps too often both management and employees accept that good supervision grows forth on its own. However, there are encumbrances to this within many organisations. The clarification of supervision as a professional and positive part of labour, aiming to change attitudes toward education and learning in the work-place, is thus a challenge to working life education.

A similar and related, yet still in some key senses distinct function for facilitation of learning at the work-place, concerns the *educative function* which ensues from the communication of information to and between employees. This can occur when workers take on an educator role for their colleagues. With no preparation and little experience of this mediatory activity and situation however, there is a risk that the challenge of this can be too great, both for individuals and the organisation they are part of as a whole.

Within companies, needs for providing *guidance* toward attaining continual competence development do grow forth. However, senior management, foremen and personnel managers have often taken responsibility for guidance within the company, except in more "horizontally" organised production situations where employees themselves obtain greater responsibilities for these duties, and data-technology based follow-up systems can only slightly fill this requirement.

The fourth challenge concerns the *developmental* function, i.e. how companies and employees form the working environment and in this process can form an environment conducive to learning. The establishment of for instance routine work, instructions, agendas for work-place meetings, provide examples where learning for employees can be enhanced through their de facto involvement in

these processes where they become participant engineers in the design of the learning environment. What is needed is continual attention to the educational possibilities embedded in everyday working life situations.

Three further functions concern pedagogical leadership, pedagogical support and working life educational policy functions. Organisations need people to actively push central questions concerning learning and education at the work-place, and who see possibilities rather than just hindrances to this development. At times external support is required for these kinds of activity, for instance in the generation of an aura through which possibilities for developing opportunities for employee learning at the work-place can be more thoroughly seen and accomplished. Working life pedagogical competence must become more enhanced within organisations and the space for learning needs to be increased. There is a social tragedy in the present situation, wherein people with a shorter than average formal school education can only be offered opportunities for qualification development first after they have become another number on the unemployment list or have become threatened by changes in labour-competence and qualification demands.

Conclusion

The content and organisation of labour is in a state of continual flux. Through this, or because of it, new demands on skills and knowledge are continually being placed on many people, whose relations to work are thus radically changed. For instance, expectations concerning participation and the experience of meaning in work are becoming more pronounced. It is in such situations that the continual development of competence becomes necessary, not the least for people who are at present regarded as in many senses unqualified.

Within Swedish industry, and particularly within the production and industrial processing sectors, we lack a pronounced tradition and experience of developing the competence of low-qualified production personnel. The companies taking part in the LUNO project bear witness to this.

Work in planning and developing programmes for human knowledge and competence development must be characterised by long-term commitment and endurance. This is lacking at present within Swedish production companies, particularly with regard to the kinds of work which have been addressed within the LUNO project.

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Palle Rasmussen

WORK AND LEARNING - THE ROLE OF PRACTICE IN TRAINING FOR LAUNDRY WORK

The educational relevance of work

The breakthrough of industrial capitalism meant that a contradictory relationship between wage labour and education was institutionalised. Work requires knowledge and qualifications, and this comprises an important part of the objective of education in modern societies. At the same time work is a vital educational force in itself: learning the norms that prevail in working life is an important part of socialisation for adult life, and continuous participation in working life is an important prerequisite for attaining respect (and self-respect) as an adult in society. On the other hand wage labour is the object of forces that undermine its educational content: the demand for profit leads to constant division into sub-tasks, limitation of the qualification content of the individual task and stepping up of the pace of work.

Social and pedagogical thinking has always addressed this problem, considering ways to create coherence between wage labour and education and training.

A social scientist who addressed this problem at an early stage was Karl Marx. In the first volume of "Capital" he analyses the development from craft production over manufacturing to large-scale industry (Marx 1976). For Marx the most important result of this development was the de-qualification of the work force. Almost no skills were necessary to perform the simple, split-up work operations in large-scale industry; they could also be carried out by children. This meant that to a large extent employers no longer needed to train their workers. On the other hand, at the societal level it became increasingly vital to ensure that the working population received a basic education. For this reason the factory legislation that was gradually introduced in Great Britain from the middle of the 19th century also required that employers should educate the children that were used as labour. Not only did Marx see this as an improvement of the welfare of the working class, he also regarded the linking of eduction and work as a fruitful educational principle (Karras 1972). Through the "polytechnic" school, individuals could develop all-round and theoretically based technological competence which would make a constructive contribution to societal production but could not be learned in the industrial workplace. For Marx this connection between work and education was a necessary consequence of the capitalist development of production. However, it could only be really achieved in another type of society.

The idea of polytechnical education was an important source of inspiration for the educational systems of the East European socialist countries, but experience from this is outside the scope of this article.

Marx expected that the creative elements which were contained in craftsmanship and transferred by the apprenticeship system would largely disappear. While this has generally been the tendency in the industrial sector, a considerable element of craftsmanship remains and on-the-job training is still important. Simultaneously new forms of work have appeared in the service sector and in the professions. This has created new awareness concerning competence in work and the transfer of this competence by means of on-the-job training. And it has contributed to making the concept of tacit knowledge an important element in modern theories of learning. By tacit knowledge is meant non-formalised competence to evaluate tasks, to select from a repertoire of tools and solutions, and to correct strategies in relation to unexpected problems. This competence is based on knowledge which is tacit in the sense that others are not able to access it in an explicitly verbal form. It is experience-based knowledge acquired thorough practice at work. Although the competent worker may be able partially to explain why s/he has performed a task in a certain way, this will be an attempt at a verbal reconstruction of a process that in practice took place quickly and intuitively (Dreyfus & Dreyfus 1989).

The implication of this approach is that high-quality work competence is not ensured by means of formalised school education, but rather through participation and on-the-job training in working life. Lave and Wenger (1991) employ the concept of "legitimate peripheral participation" to characterise the learning situation where new members are gradually included in the community of practice in a certain occupation or other organised activity. Whereas the new members have a legitimate place in the community of practice, at the start they do not have the same obligations as full members with regard to the work. Apprentices may observe, imitate, ask questions and assist. In this way they not only learn work operations and practical reflection; they are also socialised into the culture surrounding work.

Where Marx pointed to theoretical instruction in school as a necessary supplement to (but closely linked with) industrial work, modern theories of learning point to the possibilities for developing competence and the training inherent in the work itself. The training course for laundry work, which I discuss in this article, draws on both of these connections between work and learning as it aims at both all-round learning in the practical training period and at linking theoretical instruction closely to work functions in the laundry. In this way the training course in laundry work is a good example of the possibilities and limitations of work-related learning for adults.

A training course for laundry work

The training course for laundry assistants is a training programme under the Danish system of Adult Vocational Training (AMU). While most courses within this system are short and specialised, the training course for laundry work is a continuous course lasting 18 months and aiming at all-round competence. The first course was held in the Autumn of 1992; four classess with a total of about 60 laundry assistants have completed the programme up to now.

This article is based on an evaluation of a single class of 16 participants (Andersen et.al. 1996). The reason for focusing on a single class was to be able to look more closely at the interconnections between pedagogy and development of competence. The method employed was mainly semi-structured interviewed with course participants (twice during the course) and with teachers and representatives of the companies from which the participants came.

The course was established by the in-service training committee of the laundry industry, which is a body containing representatives of both employers' and employees' organisations.

It was our impression that the objective of the training committee in establishing this long-cycle training course was to prepare laundry employees for on-going reorganisation processes. Low wages and swift changeover of personnel have been traditional features of the laundry industry, and despite the rapid technological development of the laundries, many companies have only been marginally aware of matters concerning work organisation and environment.

We have met with many formulations of the objectives of the course when talking to participants, administrators, the course teachers and the education officers in the companies. For example as follows: raising the quality of the job; upgrading; increasing flexibility; increasing mobility, including further training; keeping staff; counteracting traditional thinking; limiting problems of the working environment; putting a brake on changeover of personnel; middle-manager training.

Several of these objectives also contain an altered conception of the role of training. Previously, training was intended to qualify employees to use new technology; now it should also enable them to become part of a more flexible work organisation with broader job functions. The training course may thus be seen as an attempt at innovation in the industry by investing in training for a wide group of employees. In a broader perspective, the course may be viewed as an attempt to improve the status of the laundry sector in the labour market.

The basic principles of the training course for laundry assistants are:
- it is a sandwich course with regular alteration between training in the laundry and instruction at the adult vocational training centre
- it seeks to establish holistic, functional cohesion between the different areas of knowledge and skills in the course: from the start these are linked on the basis of a practical application perspective.

As mentioned above, the course takes 18 months. Just over a quarter of this time is spent on instruction at school spread over 5 periods of full-time teaching. The subjects studied during the school periods are a basic course, laundry techniques, logistics, technology and maintenance and administration and economy. The rest of the course consists of practical training in the companies at which the participants are employed.

The course model aims to provide the participants with both general and specific qualifications. The holistically oriented teaching should contribute to personal development while providing the participant with an understanding of the company as a whole. The assessment of the class we investigated was that both of these objectives had been fulfilled to a very high degree.

As the participants are adults who are already employed at the companies the practical training periods can, unlike the training og young apprentices, be based on a considerable foundation of experience. Up to now the participants who have been recruited to the laundry assistant training course differ on some points from the general picture of employees in the laundry industry. They are younger and the number of men is greater than in the line of industry as a whole. There are many indications that the employees who are recruited for the course are already reasonably well educated and have reasonable flexibility in their jobs, i.e. a certain possibility for organising and making priorities regarding their work themselves.

Practical training and schooling

The laundry assistant training course is an sandwich course which alternates between practise periods of work and practical training in the company, and school periods of teaching at the adult vocational training centre.

The curricular framework lays down that there should be coherence between the content of the teaching during the school periods and the content of the practical training. In the case of the practical training periods this means that during the course the participants should try to carry out all of the job functions in the laundry; this should take place in a specified order corresponding to the content of the theoretical instruction.

How did the participants think that the practical training period functioned? Their reactions were by no means the same; there were in fact three separate groups who experienced the practical period in different ways. The first group (of 6) experienced it as clear, planned training where the participant and the company together made sure that the person in question was trained in the various work functions. Some of these participants said that they had made a plan for the training period together with the company. The second group (of 6) either experienced that they were placed quite arbitrarily or that they worked in the same place for the whole time (that is to say the place where they had been before commencing the training course). There was no planned training for the third group (of 4) either, but the participants themselves made sure that they circulated between the different work functions in the company.

Thus the majority of participants did not think that the company had a plan for or supervision of the participant being trained in different work functions. The primary role of the company was signing the participant's schedule for the training period. These companies seemed to have little committment to the training and their employees.

But how did the companies view the training period? We interviewed 11 managers with responsibility for training none of whom felt that the practical training period had been directly unsatisfactory. One manager felt that the practical training period had not gone so well but that this was because the company had sent the wrong person on the course.

Most of the companies said that the practical training period had been planned even though some of the companies had not had the plan in writing. Some stated that at peak load times the participants had been moved to production that was short staffed.

There was a clear difference between the assessments of the managers and the staff as to the success of the practical training periods. The staff were often less satisfied irrespective of whether a written plan had existed. As far as we can see these differences are due to the participants having expected the companies to be more engaged and having expected to be told the functions they would have to carry out during their practical training, while management had regarded it as the participants' own task to ensure relevant trying out of work functions. The management had, moreover, not noticed that the participants had perhaps not always circulated among the different job functions in the company as they should have.

A third point of view is that of the education officers who manage the training course. How do they view these problems in the practical training? The leader of the adult vocational training centre responsible for the day-to-day administration of the course pointed out that one of the specialist teachers conducted a certain degree of supervision of the companies. It was his job to evaluate, on the basis of the written training period schedules, whether the participants had had a varied and relevant training period and, if necessary, he should contact the company in question. However, the specialist teacher himself had a rather different view of the matter. He stated that it was only when the first class commenced the course that he had visited the laundries to talk to them. He had not visited companies of the second class. He agreed that there were problems involved with the practical training periods. At public laundries these periods were reasonably satisfactory as it was usually possible to take a person out of production to try something new. This could not always be done at private laundries. On the basis of the schedules, it was his assessment that the companies were not so interested in the course and that they were not really aware of the fact that they themselves constituted at least 50% of the training course.

The leader of the school, however, pointed out that the question also had to be seen from the companies' perspective. There might be reasons as to why a participant could not be moved around. If too much pressure were put on the companies concerning this question, it might be difficult to maintain their positive cooperation.

In my view, it is still a serious problem that while the training course formally ensures a link between practical training period and school period, there is no intervention when companies do not observe their side of the contract. This means that participants who are not satisfied with conditions during their practical training period are largely forced to do something about the situation themselves. It is obvious that most of them would be reluctant to do anything that could damage their relations with their employers. Nevertheless, some of the participants we spoke to did actually discuss the problem with their company.

It is not the companies alone that are responsible for the link between the school periods and the practical training periods. The schools and teachers should take an interest in relating the teaching to what takes place during practical training. However, both teachers and participants agreed that this did not occur in most cases. Only one specialist teacher paid any attention to the training period in his teaching. Some of the other teachers did not know the overall plan for the course and were thus not aware that it was the intention that the practise and the schooling should comprise a whole. Thus a discrepancy existed between the course objective and information communicated to these teachers.

Production as the frame of reference for learning

The curricular framework for the laundry assistant training course requires that during the whole 18 month course the school periods should combine practical and theoretical learning in a holistic manner. This means that even theoretical teaching must be oriented towards the production processes and work functions that the practical teaching is oriented towards. This demand is, inter alia, based on the assessment that development in working life will be away from narrow specialisation and towards more all-round job functions. On the other hand, the curriculum also makes other demands regarding the school period. It should provide the qualification for further education and should contribute to the participants' personal development and their understanding of society.

Teaching during the school periods is composed of already existing adult vocational training courses: partly courses in laundry techniques developed within the industry, and partly courses with a more general content. It is not easy to create coherence between these elements. Each course has its own syllabus and as a rule a teaching tradition associated with a certain subject area.

It is one of the basic ideas of the training course that the first school period (basic training) should establish coherence across the lines of the different subjects and areas of competence, and that this coherence should be followed up throughout the whole training course. The coherence across subject lines is enhanced by linking the subjects to their common application perspective that comprises the company and the laundry industry as a whole. In addition forms of teaching (such as project work in groups) that facilitate integration between the different subjects are widely used.

In the first school period the teaching was structured around project work that dealt with the laundry as a whole. Working in three groups the participants built up a simulated laundry and considered hardware, staff, design, washing programmes and the like. The laundry itself was constructed in the form of toy-like models. These models also had the function that the participants could return to them later when going into more depth in the individual areas. This has also been the case to a certain extent: for example, the storage component was reevaluated and changed in connection with a later school period.

Thus orienting the teaching towards the laundry industry was a principle that was emphasised in the general organisation of the course and during the first school periods. On the other hand, a number of the teachers who taught during later school periods either did not follow the principle or did so to a limited extent only. For instance, a computer science teacher stated that his was a standard course the content of which was not related to specific subjects or industries. The same teacher also pointed out that the teachers lacked the qualifications for relating their teaching to this line of industry; they knew too little about how work in a laundry was organised and the part played by their own subjects in production.

All the participants expressed satisfaction with their model laundry work during the basic course. In my view there were three reasons for this; firstly, the creativity and clarity involved in working with the models; secondly, the group work which allowed them to get into depth and to discuss their experience; and thirdly, the strong links to the laundry sector. The model laundries made it possible to gain an interim overview of work areas and functions in a laundry and thus also of the subject areas in the training course.

Thus the participants stressed that the teaching they received during the course should be linked to conditions within the laundry sector. This is a pedagogical principle signalled by the training course itself and one that also appeals to the participants. They have, after all, been working in the industry for an average of 3-4 years and know a great deal about the conditions and work at the companies. The principle of linking the teaching to conditions within the laundry sector provides the participants with a sure starting point, a foothold during the school periods. For these reasons the continuous connection with the laundry sector was crucial to the participants' evaluation of the school periods and of the teachers.

On this background, it is not surprising that most of the criticism that the participants levelled at some of the teachers and subjects pointed to a lack of connection with he laundry industry. However, upon closer examination the criticism contained several aspects. One type of criticism was that the subject did not provide knowledge that was directly applicable to work in the company. A somewhat different type of criticism was that in the teaching material and examples had been used from other lines of industry even though examples from the laundry industry could have been used just as well: for example that stock control was exemplified with screws and nuts instead of with washing. Finally, there was a type of criticism that said that while the subject was interesting and good to know about, they still missed some connection with the laundry sector. Several participants had this criticism of the teaching of computing. It was clear that the teaching of computing had provided these participants with knowledge and an overview that they had been lacking, even though they may not have used computers in their specific work functions. It was difficult for them to unite this with their principle that the teaching should be closely linked to the laundry sector.

Thus there was a strong, widespread wish among participants that the teaching should be firmly based in conditions within the laundry sector. This base would motivate participants and give them a firm foothold during school periods. However, in my opinion the expectations of close, continuous association with the line of industry seemed also to be an inappropriate defence mechanism vis à vis material that participants would find more useful generally. This indicates that the training course and the teachers, on the one hand, should ensure more consistent use of material and examples from the laundry area where it is both relevant and possible. On the other hand the participants should be clearly told that some of the material will be more general in nature and that while it cannot be so closely linked to the laundry area, it will provide important background knowledge.

Work experience and cooperative learning

The practical training in the companies and basing the school periods on a holistic understanding of the work process were planned forms of coherence between work and training. But the evaluation revealed that the training course also contained a third form, namely the participants' mutual cooperation which also meant discussing their experience.

The fact that the participants take part in the same class for one and a half years, meeting regularly during the school periods, distinguishes the long-cycle training course from the ordinary adult vocational training courses. The participants do not have to spend time and effort in getting to know new people at the beginning of every course. Discussions and situations are remembered from the one school period to the next, enabling the class to build up common experience. On the other hand, it is clear that the longer contact involves the risk of conflicts becoming worse. It is not possible just to say goodbye and thank you at the end of the individual course.

In the case of the class under investigation the long-term cooperation process did not merely function for the class as a whole, but also on the group level.Three groups which were formed during the first school period continued to function during later school periods to a greater or lesser degree. During the first part of the training course the groups made use of the model laundries they had constructed during the basic course. In at least one case they continued to work directly with the models.

All participants expressed their satisfaction with group work. As mentioned above they were particularly engaged in the work with the model laundries during the basic course which was of professional benefit as well as developing good cooperation in the groups. They were also satisfied with the group work performed during later school periods. Their reasons differed slightly: some participants emphasised that group work sums up the knowledge of the different participants while others stressed that group work allows everyone to participate.

The curricular framework for the laundry assistant training course contained neither comments nor guidelines regarding the long-term cooperation in the class, and the teachers did not formulate any special considerations concerning this question either. However, our conversations with the teachers showed that some of them had considered the function, strengths and weaknesses of the groups.

There can be no doubt that the long-term cooperation in the class and in the groups played a central role in learning and development of competence during the training course. By means of cooperation and discussions the participants could share knowledge with each other and could develop their understanding of the objective of the course and of their own work situation. In this way cooperation helped to integrate a differentiated group of participants who together were thus able to benefit more from the training course. The participants were also more aware of the meaning of this exchange of experience than were most of the teachers. This can, inter alia, be seen from the fact that several of the participants proposed that they should visit each others' places of work as part of the training course.

The limits of practice

The training course for laundry assistants is based on a fundamentally sound idea and it seems that the participants gain a great deal from it. At the end of the course when we asked the participants what they thought were the most important things they had learned from the course, the answers clustered around three points. In the first place, the majority thought that the training course had given them good insight into the production process and work functions in a laundry and into the laundry industry as a whole. "It's nice to know what goes on", as one of them said. In the second place many of the participants thought that they had learnt to cooperate better and to enter into constructive dialogue with others. Finally, most of them also said that they had gained knowledge and skills within certain areas, computer science in particular. Thus the training course provides participants with technical, general and personal qualifications.

However, the success of the training course as such does not mean that the planned forms of interaction between education and work were entirely successful. As I have described above, there were problems which especially involved the practical training; there were also problems involved in utilising the production process as a frame of reference for the school periods.

Even though the participants thought that they had achieved a good understanding of work functions in a laundry by means of the training course, only one of the participants said that this understanding had come about by means of practical training in the functions. And, as mentioned previously, most of the participants were of the opinion that their workplace had not planned the all-round training in the different work functions which was presupposed in the curricular framework. This may be seen as an expression of the fact that it is difficult for single companies in a market economy to implement planned and systematic training. The scope for training is limited by the fact that production must always be adjusted to the market and the demand for cost-effectiveness. And even though management might want to implement systematic training, unexpected orders, technical problems, problems of recruitment, illness and many other matters often mean that those who are being trained have to be sent back to their traditional functions.

Thus the learning process in the laundry assistant training course does not generally proceed according to Leave and Wenger's model for legitimate peripheral participation in a community of practice. Although participants are, to be sure, participants in the practice of production thus achieving considerable competence, the attempt to further develop this competence in a more all-round and reflexive form is limited by the specialisation and short-term problem-solving demanded if production is to show a profit. Some of the mechanisms pointed out by Marx are thus still features of working life.

As mentioned before the representatives of the employers were less aware of these problems and the training course leaders were reluctant to make demands concerning the efforts of the companies during the practical training period. This may be understood as an expression of the fact that practical training-based education and training is also subject to unequal distribution of power. By their control of production and employment the companies have power which it is difficult for public education systems challenge. And the companies' motives for participating in practical training education is not merely to provide thorough, all-round training. It is also, for example, to ensure that the staff are available for production and to recruit staff for leading work functions.

The principle of organising school periods on the basis of a holistic perspective of the work process in a laundry is basically sensible and there can be no doubt that it has contributed to giving the participants all-round, reflexive competence. However, the principle is also accompanied by the problem that it focuses the participants' attention too much on the immediately recognisable reality of working life and contributes to creating defence mechanisms in relation to more general knowledge. It is also quite possible that some of this general knowledge will prove to be irrelevant to the laundry assistants' future work functions. However, nobody can say in advance what knowledge will be irrelevant. The development of reflexive competence presupposes a certain surplus of knowledge and skills that can be mobilised in new situations, and this surplus can only be worked up if the training course does not focus too narrowly on current job functions.

It is my assessment that an important part of the learning during the training course took place in a way that had not been foreseen by those who planned the course, namely through the long-term cooperation between the participants in the class and in group work. This cooperation meant that the participants could discuss experience from their places of work and job functions, and together could reflect on this experience and relate it to areas of knowledge and skill during the school periods. In this the course actually functioned as an all-round enhancement of the competencies that the participants had developed during their working lives.

At a more general level our study of the laundry assistant training course confirms that the connection of institutional education with practise and training in working life is a fruitful way of organizing vocational training for adults. The visible links to job functions contribute to overcoming the barriers of motivation which are often found among people with limited previous schooling. The possibilities for drawing on and discussing experiences from the work process provides the participants with a better basis for the aquisition of new knowledge. If conditions are favourable, the sandwiching of work-based and school-based training can create a reciprocity between theoretical and practical knowledge, which leads to a versatile and reflexive competance.

But although the connection to working life is important, it is no less important that the process of training is rooted in an independant institutional environment for teaching and learning. Working life itself leaves limited room for more independant forms of learning and reflection, because it has to fulfil demands for efficiency and profitability. In the educational institutions experiences may be voiced, discussed, and linked to systematic aquisition of knowledge. It is possible to experiment with alternative ways of organizing work and to pursue knowledge interests whose relevance to the world of work are not immediately obvious.

This kind of fruitful interconnection between work and education also demands a good organization of the course as a whole. The sandwich course should be based on clear frameworks and agreements, which schools as well as workplaces can trust in. But the framework should be open and flexible. Rather than trying to direct and control teaching and the development of competence in detail, the framework should leave room for and support cooperative and experience-based learning.

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IV

TRENDS IN ADULT EDUCATION

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FROM PHILANTHROPY TO DEINSTITUTIONALISATION: THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORWEGIAN ADULT EDUCATION SYSTEM

Introduction

It has been claimed that historical studies of adult education are long overdue (Deshler & Hagan 1989). Although a number of North American studies have recently appeared (cf. Adult Education Quarterly 1995), the overall picture remains one of a dearth of studies that examine the historical development of adult education. Without a set of national historical studies cross-national comparisons are obviously fraught with problems. There are several themes which a viable history of adult education should address. One is the origin and the development of the various ideologies which have motivated and influenced practicioners within the field of adult education. Another is the changing pedagogical content of adult education. A third theme would trace the rise and fall of the various organised movements which have engineered the expansion of adult education. Above all though a history of adult education must relate each of these themes to the broader social context. Although it is reasonable to assumme that adult education has affected social processes, in our view initial studies should focus on the way in which its ideas, content and interested parties have been shaped and transformed by the environing social forces.

This article is primarily a contribution to this latter task for the case of Norway (see also Nordhaug 1986 and Gooderham & Nordhaug 1994). It traces the evolution of adult education in Norway from its genesis in the early part of the previous century to its current workings. Our main argument will be that adult education has passed through a number of overlapping yet distinctive phases. We have labelled these the philanthropic, the socio-political and the institutional phases. Since the early 1980s adult education appears to have entered a fourth phase, characterised by deinstitutionalisation. Each of these phases reflect broader societal developments.

The philanthropic phase

Adult education in Norway can trace its roots to the influence of the Enlightenment period which was characterized by a belief in progress based on the application of rational, scientific principles both to work and morals. In order to disseminate and apply such principles secular sunday schools were started in England in 1780 by private persons. These philanthropic ventures aimed at providing literacy and vocational skills for craftsmen, apprentices, shop assistants and workers. The sunday school concept spread to Denmark in 1800 and in 1802 the first of these were established in the three principle Norwegian cities, Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim. Sunday schools swiftly spread beyond the cities. By 1837 59 schools had been established in country areas as well as another 10 in the smaller towns. In respect to the dissemination of literacy skills these schools were eventually rendered superfluous by the spread of elementary education. With regard to vocational skills they were gradually superseded by technical evening school. Nevertheless it was not until 1915 that the last such school was closed.

The socio-political phase

If the origins of the sunday school movement may be characterized as philanthropic their character underwent a profound change around the mid-century. In the latter part of the 1840s local workers' associations began to adopt the idea of sunday schools. In addition to providing literacy skills, these schools consciously aimed at propagating the political and ideological stance of the workers' movement. Society was to be transformed, at least in part, through adult education.

The notion that adult education might be an instrument of ideological consequence did not remain a monopoly of the workers' movement for any great time. Social change, or more correctly, the fear of revolution, was becoming an object of increasing concern to the bourgeoisie, particularly in the wake of the 1848 revolution in France. There was a deep concern that revolutionary ideas might gain a foothold in Norway unless suitable measures were taken. One such strategy that was adopted was that of providing adult education in order that as Eilert Sundt, one of the pioneers of The Society for the Promotion of the Enlightenment of the People, wrote in 1851, "the vast masses (should not become) blind tools in the hands of agitators".[1]

It should be noted though that measures other than adult education were also deemed necessary. The labour movement was severely suppressed by the government. Its leaders were imprisoned and the movement dissolved and it was not until towards the end of the century that a new labour movement was able to fully establish itself.

The threat of socialism was not the only impetus for the establishement of The Society for Promotion of People's Enlightenment. A number of its founders were also concerned with countering the growing influence of various dissenting sects, particularly that of Mormonism.[2]

Thus with the founding of the Society adult education had acquired a dual agenda that was to permeate adult education until the Second World War. The various adult education movements had overtly socio-political missions with education serving well defined ideological ends. The Society consciously focussed its activities on the growing middle-classes. The long term strategy of the Society was that by convincing these classes of the innate value of education they would in turn influence what they termed the lower orders to aspire to rational and informed thought. The Society's first chairman, Hartvig Nissen, reasoned in 1852 that "through their moral and intellectual attraction (the middle-classes)... can steadily draw greater numbers of the lower orders into its enlightened midst." (Nissen 1852, 352).

In addition to its belief that adult education could foster greater social harmony through habits of thought, The Society also held that adult education was a critical factor in economic growth which in turn would create the basis for improved living standards for the working class. Thus social integration was to be achieved not only by ideology but also by material means. This economic motivation was a product of classic economic liberalism which extolled the virtues of the pursuit of self interest. However, for self interest to have a positive effect it had to be guided by good sense and rational thought. Hence the importance attached to education.

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[1] See also Hartvig Nissen's (1851, 293), the Society's first chairman, attack on the workers' leader, Marcus Thrane, as one of the most dangerous "forførere og opviglere" ("Seducers and Inciters to Rebellion"). Nissen argues that "facts" must be employed as a "safety valve for society" in its battle against socialist thinking.

[2] Ole Vig, the first editor of the Society's journal *Folkevennen*, believed that it was ignorance which caused "madness as mormonism" (Folkevennen 1853). The same wiew was held by Eilert Sundt (Sundt 1968, 53).

Accompanying the emphasis on self interest was a similar emphasis on self improvement. Thus the Society's leading theoretician, Eilert Sundt, argued that the task of adult education was to promote self learning. The Society's mission was therefore not so much to disseminate knowledge as to awaken an interest for knowledge and learning. Self learning would ensure that knowledge as it is acquired would be combined with general experience producing a unique synthesis for each individual. Sundt's thinking eventually developed into a conviction that there was much of value within the common well of the nonliterate people's experiences as denoted by their cultures, their work methods and their ideas. Ideally, he argued, any enlightenment of the people should involve an exchange between the layman and the learned in which both parties are equals (Sundt 1859, 87; 1865, 244).

The Society failed in its vision of "trickle down" learning. Its plans to organise local societies around the country were never realised. Instead Sundt among others abandoned the strategy of reaching down to the working class via the middle class and adopted a strategy aimed at going directly to working class people. In 1864, in Christiania (now Oslo), he established a society for the enlightenment of the working class. Parallel with this development was the initiative of students at the University to provide free instruction in elementary subjects. Lectures on scientific and cultural matters were also provided. Despite Sundt's avowed belief in equality between the layman and the learned, in practice it was the latter who dominated. It was their ideology of self reliance and their values which permeated the instruction. Edvard Bull (1985) characterized Sundt's project as being one of "authoritarian education".[3]

As the working-class movement revived it made from 1887 (when the Norwegian Labour Party was founded) onwards inroads into the education of the working class. Personal development was incorporated into a social democratic mode of thought influenced by the marxist precept that the liberation of the working-class can only be achieved by the working-class itself (cf. Arvidson 1991). Education of its membership was viewed in narrowly political terms as a means of schooling the movement's activists in socialist theory and history as well as in the practicalities of politics. The emphasis on this latter aspect increased as the Norwegian Labour Party acquired political power both at local and national level, forming its first government in 1935. From 1935 economics began to feature as a subject of study but, typically, not as a strictly academic discipline, but as a tool to be applied in the service of the party.

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[3] "opplysning under formynderskap"

Thus the function of workers´ education, the main strand of adult education in Norway, was that of an ideological appendage to the Labour Party. This education may rightly be termed political education (cf. Entwistle 1989) and propaganda and education were joined closely together. This was not only the case for the now defunct Socialist Evening School, founded in 1908, and the Socialist Day School, founded in 1920, but also *AOF* (The Workers' Education Association) which was established in 1931 and which today is one of the two major voluntary adult education associations in Norway.

The working-class movement was not the only grass roots movement to adopt adult education as a means of promoting its socio-political ends. From around 1900 temperance societies, societies for the promotion of *Nynorsk*[4] and farmers' groups all employed adult education in their collective efforts to shape society. The up-down model of adult education was replaced by a distinctly more egalitarian pedagogy symbolised by the partial adoption of the study circle, that is a group of learners with no formal teacher.

The institutionalisation phase

By institutionalisation we mean the incorporation of adult education into the state's sphere of legitimate interest so that adult education is incorporated in public policy (cf. Dobbin et al 1993). This does not imply that adult education providers in Norway integrated with the state school or university sectors. The vast majority have never been part of the state apparatus. Instead we are referring to the processes by which the state conferred legitimacy on adult education provision as a response to socio-political pressures. The allocation of state subsidies to adult education, the transformation of an office (established 1934) into a permanent state advisory body on adult education in 1945 which was later integrated with the Ministry of Education and the partial regulation of adult education by acts of parliament are all indicative of the post-war change in status of adult education.

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[4] *Nynorsk* translates literally to "New Norwegian". It is a written form of language that draws heavily on the dialects of the rural areas thereby forming a distinct alternative to the Danish influenced standard Norwegian. Its adoption and standing as an official language has been a heavily debated issue through most of this century.

Although state subsidies to adult education began in 1935 these were relatively modest. Like the construction of the welfare state, the institutionalisation of adult education did not gain momentum until after the second world war. In post-war Norway class conflict was replaced by a broad consensus that cooperation between labour and employers was of vital national importance. Part of this consensus involved an underlying agreement that society should become more meritocratic, that individual ability should be the decisive factor in determining social position. Thus for example in 1947 a system of student loans was introduced as a means of making higher education a viable option regardless of parental income.

With the growth of this underlying political consensus the perceived need for internal political and ideological training within the labour movement diminished. Characteristic of this post-war change of mentality was the occasion when radicals within the movement suggested making an educational film depicting the early struggles. They were brusquely refused by the then general secretary of the Labour Party (Håkon Lie) with the rejoinder, "We do not need that kind of thing anymore. We have got the power now" (Kokkvold 1981). In tune with this new political climate *AOF* abandoned political propaganda and concentrated on providing education that would be attractive to a much broader public than the membership of the movement.

As Norway entered the 1960s the focus of adult education began to shift from that of the realization of collective goals to that of meeting the educational needs of individual adults. Public acknowledgement of the importance of educational opportunities for adults with low levels of formal schooling was to grow as major school reforms during the late 1960s and early 1970s granted the younger generations more formal education. Several public committees produced white papers aimed at the introduction of reforms directed at benefiting adults before in the early 1970s work commenced on what was to be the Adult Education Act of 1976.

In essence the Act declared that adult education should promote equality by providing opportunities for adults to develop themselves educationally (Kallerud 1978). In addition the Act stipulated a division of responsibilities. The voluntary adult education associations were to organize the vast bulk of the courses, the non-examinable courses of study, while the state school sector were to provide examinable courses. There was broad agreement on the Act within the all-party committee that prepared it, and the only measure of dissent voiced had more of a rhetorical nature. The internal debate amongst committee members might be viewed as a final tug of war between those forces, primarily on the political left, who wished that adult education should remain collectivist in character, and those, primarily on the right, who argued that it should be geared to individual needs. In part this was reflected in the debate as to whether non-examinable courses of study should be subsidized to the same extent as examinable courses, the point of view of the left being that the adult education associations who supplied the former were guarantors of the collectivist tradition. However, the reality was that the adult education associations had long since adapted themselves to the needs of the individual and the Act did little or nothing to ensure that collectivist interests would be served.

Another noteworthy feature of the preparatory work on the Act was the basic assent regarding the role of the voluntary adult education associations. Their mode of provision was regarded as being fully in accordance with the overriding aims of the Act so much so that the Act now granted them recognition in law. Above all this testifies to the degree to which the associations had by 1976 become institutionalised.

A deinstitutionalisation phase?

Deinstitutionalisation is a process signifing a divestment of acceptance by the state of responsibility for areas of activity which it has either maintained itself or controlled by other means. This entails a greater exposure to the logic of market forces. Disregarding activities which the state wishes to disassociate itself from because they have become overly controversial, contemporary deinstitutionalisation is grounded on one of two premisses. The one is ideological, it being argued that the market constitutes a more efficient arena for the production of goods and services than regulated, state subsidized actors. The other is pragmatic, that there are limits to what the state can shoulder of burdens so that those activities which are not protected by strong lobby groups are jettisoned. As the issues that had inspired the original socio-political protagionists lost their potency as a consequence of the development of the welfare state, traditional adult education providers increasingly found themselves being placed in the category of expendable responsibilities. Another feature of deinstitutionalisation is that activities may be disposed of in a single move or, as in the case of adult education, incrementally.

Several considerations justify such a verdict regarding adult education in Norway. In 1976, by virtue of the Adult Education Act, adult education was seemingly fully institutionalised with the state having distributed tasks to the voluntary associations and the public education system and acknowledging it as an important means for the achievement of greater social equality.

Moreover, a national state funded research institute was established to monitor the workings of the Act. The intention was that this institute should expand substantially. However, when economic conditions deteriorated in the early 1980s state subsidies to the voluntary associations were significantly cut back. The ostensible justification employed by the then right wing government for the decrease in funding was that early findings from the research institute indicated that individuals with high levels of formal education were more likely to take adult education than those with low education. What resources that were available, it was argued, should therefore be concentrated on courses granting formal qualifications at the secondary level (Gooderham 1983). Subsequent changes of government and improvements in macro-economic conditions have made no difference to this stance. The voluntary associations have therefore been compelled to adopt a much more explicit market orientation. Parallel with this development the commitment to the planned expansion of the research institute was shelved indefinitely.

The next phase of deinstitutionalisation is most obviously visible in the fate of Norway's two largest colleges of adult education in the country's largest city, Oslo. These were funded by the city of Oslo which at the end of the 1980s opted to withdraw its support for both colleges. It was argued that it was not the duty of the rates payer to pay for the education of adults. In short they had had their chance at school. The state eventually stepped in saving one of the colleges but on the condition that the college generated part of its income through the sale of courses. In other words the college was to have one foot in the market place.

On the basis of the above it might seem reasonable to surmise that adult education has declined by volume since the early 1980s. However, we would argue that it has actually expanded if one takes into account the steady increase in employers' investments in employee education and formal course based training. In 1982 19% of private sector employees received some formal training in working-hours. By 1990 this had increased to 28%. The equivalent figures for the public sector are 25% and 44%. Moreover, nearly all of the major suppliers of training to private sector firms are private firms themselves which also have the public sector as an important customer for their services (Nordhaug & Gooderham, 1996). In other words adult education has moved out of the public sphere and into the private for which there exist no official statistics. The only obvious exception to this broad process of deinstitutionalisation is the training provision offered to the long-term unemployed.

Conclusion

In the Norwegian context adult education is a phenomenon within the development of modernity. Initially it is a response to the upheaval of traditional, pre-literate, rural societies in the wake of industrialisation and urbanisation with its early development intrinsically bound up with the struggle between capital and labour. As this early capitalist phase is superseded by institutionalised capitalism adult education changes from being a socio-political instrument to an instrument for the state's ambition of creating greater social equality. In the last fifteen years though there has been a shift in the locus of adult education from the evening class to the work-place, from the social goal of equality to the firm's goal of increased productivity and profitablity. At the same time, as we have noted, adult education providers have been compelled to sell their courses in the market place. Thus the hall marks of deinstitutionalisation are many.

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KNOWLES’ ANDRAGOGY, PEDAGOGY AND SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING

Preface

Today, formal educational activities attended by adults span from initial or second chance basic education to university-level vocational training, and full-time university courses. To serve a growing population of adults with relevant educational opportunities, we need more than to provide a network of educational facilities. We are also in need of a suitable and effective teaching technique for adults. One of the best known, and influential theories in adult education, is Malcolm Knowles’ (1970; 1980) andragogy, “the art and science of helping adults learn.“ In fact, Bright (1989) describes Knowles’ andragogy as “the jewel in American adult education’s crown.“ The main assumption in Knowles writings is the dichotomy between children as dependent learners and adults as self-directed learners, and the implied dichotomy between andragogy and pedagogy. The purpose of this paper is to provide a critical analysis of Malcolm Knowles’ andragogy and its role as a leading principle in the education of adults.

Introduction

Among the different entities and relationships the concept of adult education, at one time or another has referred to, are “the relationships between learner and teacher,“ and “a special kind of learning“ (Courtney 1992). Some of the varieties in the definitions seem dependant on what types of education are included, and what is considered to be an adult. (Cropley 1985; Bohla 1988). When it comes to the concept of adulthood, age, psychological maturity, and social roles are all essential, but the priority of these factors also varies according to the actual culture (Cropley 1985).

The concept of adulthood is intrinsically related to the question of whether adult education is fundamentally different from education in general (Darkenwald and Merriam 1982). Adulthood is, by some writers (Knowles 1970; McKenzie 1978; Darkenwald and Merriam 1982) on adult education, described as a distinct condition with qualities followed by social roles and functions that constitutes a definite difference between adults and children. Malcolm Knowles (1980, 46) claims the psychological definition of adulthood, as a result of maturation, to be: *"the point at which individuals perceive themselves to be essentially self-directing, (...) people also develop a deep psychological need to be seen by others as self-directing"*. Defining adulthood by self-directedness in learning, Knowles implies that children are not. On this basis he craves that adults must be addressed by andragogy "the art and science of helping adults learn," not pedagogy "the art and science of helping children learn" (Knowles 1970; 1975; 1980). In other words, Knowles makes a case for approaching the educational process differently because one is dealing with adults rather than children. However, other prominent writers on adult education, as Cyril Houle does not share Knowles' view on the dichotomy between children and adults. Altogether, the idea of a distinct art and science of teaching adults to be termed andragogy seems not to be generally supported among writers on adult education (Darkenwald and Merriam 1982). According to Knowles, andragogy, as a *"learning theory for adults"* (Knowles 1978, p. 28), will offer a solution to adult educators, striving to adapt their teaching techniques applied on adult learners.

Andragogy, according to Knowles

Knowles' four basic assumptions on what characteristics adult learners constitute the backbone of his andragogy, which is a framework both for describing adults and their learning orientation, and consequently, a "new technology for adult education" (Knowles 1980).

The four basic assumptions

1. As a person matures his or her self-concept moves from one of a dependent personality towards one of a self-concept of a self-directed human being;
2. An adult accumulates a growing reservoir of experience, a rich resource for learning. For an adult, personal experiences establish self-identity and so are highly valued;
3. The readiness of an adult to learn is closely related to the developmental tasks of his or her social role; and
4. There is a change in time perspective as individuals mature, from one of future application of knowledge to immediacy of application; thus an adult is more problem-centred than subject-centred in learning.

This list of underlying assumptions demonstrates his view on adults and children as definite different, and that this difference constitutes itself in learning, -needs, -preferences and -styles, subsequently dichotomizing pedagogy and andragogy. This is highly reflected in the titles of his two books "The modern practice of adult education: Andragogy versus pedagogy" (Knowles 1970), and his follow up, mainly a revised version of his first book, where the subtitle had changed to "From Pedagogy to Andragogy" (Knowles 1980), suggesting a change from a dichotomous to a continovs view on the pedagogy-andragogy relationship. Using these four assumptions or claims Knowles (1970; 1980) provided a guide for how teachers students alike could increase students' self-directedness, laying out the competencies required, and how to use or guide them to affect self-directed learning.

The educational standpoint(s) of Knowles, as reflected in these assumptions, Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) characterize as a mixture of humanistic educational philosophy and psychology, and progressivism. Additionally, the assumptions on the adults' readiness and orientation to learning, show a link to a psychosocial developmental perspective. It is also pointed to Eduard Lindeman, by many regarded as "the father of adult education" as a main influence on Knowles, causing other writers to label Lindeman as "the father of andragogy" (Loeng 1990).

Andragogy vs. pedagogy

As should be demonstrated, in the United States, as advocated by Knowles, andragogy rests on a micro-perspective, founded on assumptions about the characteristics of the adult as learner (Law & Rubenson 1988). In the original European connotation, andragogy also covers aspects as planning, delivering and evaluating, and the social functions of adult education. Among countries as ex-Yugoslavia, Poland, Germany, France and the Netherlands, the concept was much used in the 1960 and 1970's (Manninen et al. 1988; Law & Rubenson 1988; Hake 1992).

Saying that "*it is a tragic fact that most of us only know how to be taught, we haven't learned how to learn,*" Knowles (1975, 14) pointed at the importance of being able to manage one owns learning. Adults, he views as able to and oriented towards managing their own learning, in other words, self-directed learners, children he regards as dependent learners. The (adult) self-directedness in learning, Knowles described as *a process that involves taking initiative for one's learning, identifying what is needed to learn, setting learning goals, determining what is needed to accomplish those goals, selecting and* *implementing appropriate learning strategies, and monitoring the final learning outcome* (Knowles 1975). This Knowles regarded as a relatively natural process for adults as he viewed self-directedness as an aspect of maturity increasingly, refined over time. The (life) experiences of adults, Knowles sees as a rich resource for learning, previous experiences in children, he sees as invalid when it comes to learning. As Knowles (1970; 1980) see it, pedagogy represents a teaching principle based on, and aimed at passive and dependent learners, children. His andragogy is on the other hand based on, and subsequently aimed at and suited for self-directing adults. On this basis Knowles (1980) proposed that the main reason for the classical adult education problem, drop-out (Gooderham 1991; Madsen 1994a), is adult educators having applied pedagogy on adults. In what Knowles (1970) calls *design*, climate and activities are what constitutes some of the differences between pedagogy and andragogy. The pedagogical climate he describes as "authoritarian oriented, formal and competitive," the andragogical "mutual, respectful, cooperative and informal." The activities of pedagogy he sees as "transferring techniques," in andragogy "experience based techniques and inquiry." The experience based approach of andragogy, is a consequence of his view that (life)experiences are much more important for adults' orientation towards learning, than for children. The andragogical adult teacher's role would then be a facilitator for developing the self-directedness of the adult students.

Knowles' status and position

Viewing adults as independent, self-directed individuals striving for personal growth and personal fulfilment, free of institutional control, Knowles' andragogy was a perfect enhancement to the American ethos of rugged individualism (Brookfield 1989). However, Knowles' writings on andragogy have found a receptive audience, also outside the United States. This, even if it is much harder to find any kind of consensual agreement outside the United States, as to what activities, concepts, and philosophies comprise any kind of central tradition in adult education (Brookfield 1989). Even if, as in Norway, the concept of andragogy is not generally well known or frequently used, the influence from Knowles' seems to be highly present. In the adult education community there seems to be a wide acceptance of Knowles' main points, that adults are qualitatively different from children, are self-directed learners and must be approached very differently as learners.

As Van der Kamp (1992, 193), states, "*if learning across the lifespan is to be taken seriously, we need to develop theories of learning and instruction that* *can be used to design powerful learning environments suitable for adults*" Since many adult educators, both outside and inside the United States, have found the answer to their questions about how to facilitate effective adult learning in Malcolm Knowles' andragogy, it is of both theoretical and practical importance to look closer at Knowles' theory of adult learning.

Andragogy in the spotlight

Knowles' andragogy is among many adult educators regarded as the major theory of adult education. In fact, Usher and Bryant (1989) regards andragogy as one of the best known, and still very influential theories of adult education. What many adult educators seem to overlook or may not have the needed scientific competence to see, is that Knowles andragogy is a collection of assumptions, not a scientific theory. Andragogy's lack of support from research has made writers like Elias to propose that it cannot be taken seriously as educational theory (Cross 1981). In fact, according to Van der Kamp (1992), it seems that *no* coherent and empirical tested theory on adult learning has yet been established. This makes the validity of Knowles' andragogy questionable, both as a foundation of practice and as a basis for a profession (Madsen 1994b).

The debates

By advocating his view on adults as learners and how to teach them, Knowles has strongly contributed to one of several constantly ongoing debates within the field of adult education - if there is a (distinct difference) between teaching principles of pedagogy and andragogy. Within this debate, Alanen (1990) points out four different viewpoints; (a) there is a distinct difference based on different underlying assumptions and key questions, (b) the two are seen as two parallel, but separate and independent sciences, (c) "adult pedagogics" is seen as a branch of pedagogics, and (d) adult education is seen as an arena for practice and research by the science of pedagogy. The question about the relationship between pedagogy and andragogy is also present in adult education research. In his 1987 review of the field, Kranjc proposes that adult education research has been organized along three assumptions; (a) research on and theory of adult education remains within the boundaries of pedagogy, (b) research into adult education is a meeting point of related disciplines, and (c) research is aimed at the formation of a distinct discipline - andragogy. In other contexts, the nature of andragogy have been categorized as what Knowles himself propose, a learning theory, while other writers view andragogy as a philosophical position, a political reality, or a set of hypothesis subject to scientific verification (Cross 1981).

Science and non-science

To determine the scientific status or qualities of andragogy, a set of criteria must be applied. A widely held common-sense view of science is that theory is derived from observations and experiments, and that scientific knowledge is *reliable, objective proven knowledge.* In other words, *personal opinion* or *preferences* and *speculative imaginings* do not fit the description of science (Chalmers 1992). To determine the scientific status of a discipline, Monshouer (1981) has listed five (positivistic) criteria; *the requirement of - logical consistency; - empirical correspondence (all claims must withstand testing by means of empirical data); - explanatory knowledge; - exactitude or measurability; - the absence of value judgements.* Generally, it can be argued that Knowles' andragogy has severe problems meeting most of these criteria.

Self-directedness and adult learning

One of the two most central concepts in Knowles andragogy is the concept of self-directedness. Surprisingly, it is not based on psychological studies, and thereby it is not supported by empirical evidence for how and why it is a natural part of maturing, what works and why. In other words, Knowles have not shown how the concept of self-directedness in learning evolved (Dahl 1992b). This is clearly not science, compered to both Monshouers (1981) scientific criteria and Chalmers (1992) notions on science. In this instance Knowles does not meet the criteria of "*empirical correspondence,*" and thus fails to display "*reliable, objective proven knowledge,*" and by seemingly unconditionally linking self-directedness to adulthood (maturity), also the criteria of "absence of value judgement" is failed. Seemingly, we are left with "*personal opinion or preferences and speculative imaginings*" (Monshouer 1981; Chalmers 1992).

Based on both theories and empirical findings in psychosocial stage-theory (Erik Erikson), cognitive development theory (Jean Piaget), life-phase theory (R.J. Havinghurst), and humanistic psychology (Rogers and Maslow), adulthood could be regarded primarily to be a (highly) individual process, not one definite condition (Dahl 1992a). The only general stabile trait of adulthood, is from a psychological standpoint biological age. This is quite contradictory to what Knowles advocates, as he seems to view adults as a homogeneous group. Neither does Knowles show scientific excellence in his dealing with the not less important and strictly corresponding concept, learning. As Manninen et al. (1988) point to, the most central concept in his “theory,“ learning, (which is among the most debated concepts in modern psychology), is dealt with *undefined.* Knowles makes a shortcut, and formulates a learning principle for adults, just by referring to the (by the teacher) perceived differences in teaching adults and children, a difference involving self-directedness (Manninen et al. 1988). Another strange feature with his “learning theory,“ is that it is much more dealing with teaching than learning.

With no empirical evidence, no references to research methods or other information enabling other researchers to check his results, Knowles seriously jeopardizes the scientific status of andragogy, both as theory and discipline. Scientifically speaking, what is left of the core of his andragogy is collection of over-generalized “clever speculations.“

The need to learn self-directedness

By addressing the problem of “*(...) we don’t know how to learn*“ (ibid.), Knowles points to a process which, in psychological and pedagogical literature dealing with motivation and educational topics, is referred to as “learning to learn“. However, if it is, as Knowles claims, necessary to teach adults to learn to learn, even if they should be self-directed by nature, this is quite contradictory, thus *logically inconsistent*, and subsequently not scientific, according to Monshouer’s (1981) criteria. Knowles does not offer any good explanation for this anomaly. However, this contradiction could be explained by adults’ previous experiences in educational situations. Adults could have been conditioned to become dependent on others to instruct them. When entering adult education, this overrides their assumed self-directed nature. Surprisingly, such an interpretation is supported by Knowles himself. Addressing the need of “learning to learn“, *not* andragogy, Knowles propose that adults who enter formal instructional situations, must be provided with “*preparatory experiences that will free them from their conditioned dependency and provide them with the attitudes, intellectual understanding, and skills necessary to enter self-directed learning projects with confidence and pleasure*“ (Knowles 1990, 123). That adults in formal learning-situations fall back in the dependant “pupil-role“ they most likely had as children, is consistent with the findings of Larsson et. al. (1990), and somewhat contradictory to Knowles’ initial definition of adulthood (ibid.)

According to Knowles self-directedness is a result of maturation, which implies that a person becomes self-directed, by age not by experience. Deci and Ryan (1990) display another view, stating that self-directedness is a unique human quality that can be fostered or hindered by environmental forces, implying if the environment supports self-directedness, a person will become self-directed (Deci and Ryan 1990). This is also consistent with the findings of Tove Dahl (1992b). She found that context (intrinsic or exintric motivation supportive educational settings) had greater influence on the students self-directedness and orientation towards learning, than their age.

Self-directedness, learning to learn and age

In a growing body of writings on different aspects in the field of learning processes and goals, concepts as metacognitive training, metalearning, learning how to learn, learning to learn, self-regulated and self-directed learning are used (Zimmerman & Schunk 1989; Deci & Ryan 1990; Schunk 1991; Bandura 1986). More or less interchangeable those concepts refer to knowledge, processes and procedures by which people come to and are assisted to make appropriate educational decisions and carry out instrumental tasks associated with successful lifelong learning (Smith 1990). Self-regulated learning is, as described by Schunk (1991) a process whereby students personally activate and sustain cognitions and behaviours systematically oriented towards the attainment of academic learning goals. Cognitive activities include attention to instruction, processing and integrating knowledge, along with developing self-efficacy, and value of learning. Behaviours as self-monitoring, self-instruction and self-reinforcement are referred to, by behavioural researchers in this field of learning.

According to different writers the ability to “learning to learn“, is developed late in childhood, but do not automatically increase with age, and even if it is most frequently observed in older children and adults, some reaches adulthood without developing the ability (Smith 1990). This conclusions do not preclude that the main reason behind this seemingly age-based phenomenon, is experience. Young children may not be sufficient supported on their self-directedness, while older children and adults are more likely to be supported.

All in all, Knowles' definition of self-directedness seems to be quite similar to the way the concept is defined by researchers within pedagogy It is quite interesting, on the background of Knowles' assumptions, to observe that the main research and development of these concepts, are within the boundaries of pedagogy. Subsequently, this have made writers as Cross to argue that "learning to learn", to develop the skills and attitudes that are required of lifelong learners, must be the most important lesson to teach our children. By this stance she is one of a growing number researchers and writers on education, who are calling for major reforms in elementary and secondary education. This stance is due to the rapidly growing acceptance of "learning to learn" as a fundamental goal for education in childhood and adolescence. On the other hand Smith (1990) points to Gibbons and Phillips, who stress the needs of adults to learn to learn, because even the best educated adults have decades or more still to live after they graduate, still needing to learn.

The role of maturation and experience

According to Knowles (1980), *independently*, both age and experience, are essential in determining how people learn. In his view maturation (by age) produces self-directed behaviour, experience constitutes a resource for learning, *it is not* regarded as a startingpoint for developing independence. This implied dichotomy between adults and children is contradictory to what is a common view within information-processing theory. According to Gagné, the cognitive process of learning is general/universal, how we learn or are oriented towards learning are influenced by experience, age has just an indirect effect as experience grows with age (Dahl 1992a).

Courtney (1992) points to a considerable array of writings, as in Knowles (1980), where the motivation to learn in adulthood is said to stem from the developmental tasks which adults are expected to perform, the social roles they occupy, and the change which they encounter in occupation, family and life position. However, with a few exceptions, the direct test of such a relationship has been rare. In other words, this relationship seems much easier to assume than to prove (Courtney 1992). Other aspects of the adult life are viewed as factors that crave/demonstrates the self-directedness of adults. In this context Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) emphasizes the independency of adults as a contradiction to children's dependence of others for their well-being. It is pointed to the adult roles as decision-makers and thus responsible for managing their own lives, living in acceptance of social roles and functions as wage-earners, spouses, parents and citizens. The focus is seemingly primarily on the *positive aspects* of the adults' roles and functions, the limitations on adults' behaviour and opportunities to fulfill their educational or knowledge-seeking needs, underlying their roles and functions, are not concerned. In fact it can be argued that adults, by striving to fulfill their social roles, and live up to many different social expectations, live a much more restricted life than most children. As Manninen et al. (1988) points to, many social restraints severely inhibits the adult from realizing his or hers self-directedness, making adults not necessarily by definition self-directed.

Taking the negative aspects of adult life in consideration, adults attaining education are under pressure from forces pulling them out/away from educational activities. Firstly, participation in publicly provided adult education is voluntary, free or at least very low cost, the teacher's authority (by age-difference) is no longer present, and secondly their motivation, aptitudes, learning strategies, and studying-skills are not necessarily appropriate. This makes it much more likely that the adult learner drops out, than the pre-adolescent and adolescent learner. The teaching methods applied, and the social environment in school then becomes very important to keep the adult sited by building a shield against the forces that tend to pull the adult out of the educational situation. The same poor or inadequate teaching method used in compulsatory education of young and older children as in voluntary adult education, does thereby not produce the same effect.

Knowles' ambivalence

In his first book setting forth the thesis of andragogy "The Modern Practice of Adult Education - Andragogy versus Pedagogy," Knowles (1970) somewhat surprisingly proposed andragogy as not only a tool for helping adults learn, but also human beings in general. Knowles basis for this proposal is that he feels that none of the two teaching principles are superior to the other. In one situation he sees pedagogy as best suited, in another andragogy, regardless of age end social roles of the learners. In his 1980 follow-up - "From Pedagogy to Andragogy", Knowles makes a point of having received feedback from teachers of children who successfully have applied andragogy. This makes andragogy, even according to Knowles (1980) not uniquely suited to adults, nor superior to more traditional education. Comparing the assumptions of pedagogy and andragogy, Knowles (1980) elaborates on the first assumption; "(...) *to move from dependancy towards increasing self-directedness, but at different rates for different people and in different dimensions of life (...) Adults have a deep psychological need to be generally self-directing, although they may be dependent in particular temporary situations*" (p. 43). By stating this he shows a less dichotomous view on children and adults than he initially displayed. Still, frequently, and across an array of writings, he has referred to the unique characteristics of adults as learners and to andragogy as a "theory of adult learning" (Cross 1981).

This ambivalence, or undecidedness, even by the man that has made andragogy synonymous with his own name, makes andragogy as a set of guiding assumptions for adult education quite questionable, or as Cross (1981) quite strongly puts it, "*up in the air*" (p. 225) As will be shown in the next section, there are many more reasons to question Knowles´ andragogy´s position and suitability as the leading principle in adult education.

Assumptions and dichotomies

As previously noted, Knowles' andragogy is regarded as rooted in humanistic psychology, particularly Rogerian as it emphasizes subjective experience, self-direction and discovery in learning, and the development of individual potential. However, even if most humanistic psychologists were most concerned with adults and problems in adult life, theoretically they would apply their (basic) principles *regardless of age* (Bright 1989). Such an fault in the epistomological overlap between humanistic psychology and andragogy, makes andragogy not true humanistic in its *psychological* orientation. Nevertheless, it is what Bright calls a false dichotomy within andragogy, the claim that adults and children generally are of distinctive and fundamentally different nature, he criticizes most severely.

Four false assumptions

According to Bright (1989) the four features identified by Knowles (1970; 1980) as characteristics of adults, can all be applied, in different ways to children. The list, Bright continues, reflects a traditional and outdated "passive-active" dimension where children and adults were respectively interpreted. Knowles's dichotomy between pedagogy and andragogy could be said to reflect much of the same outdated view.

Concerning Knowles first criterion of "adulthood," self-directedness, Bright (1989) points to the fact that both modern developmental psychology and humanistic psychology regard all individual humans as interacting with and influencing their environment in a reciprocal and dynamic manner. This makes the first criterion at least highly questionable. As for his second criterion, experience, much of the same critique can be applied. Here Knowles displays what Bright calls "arrogance and age discrimination," underestimating the validity of children's experiences or disqualify their experiences as a rich resource in learning situations. It is also inconsistent with one view of the nature of thinking that has been invoked as supporting the andragogical approach - Riegel's theory of dialectical thinking (Bright 1989). He is also neglecting the need to connect new experience to existing knowledge structures, by Piaget and others (Chaplin and Krawiec 1979) regarded as a fundamental basis for learning in general.

Central aspects of the third and fourth criterion of adults (the role of real-life problems and competence-based approach in learning), can also be applied to children. Given the large number of tasks that development in childhood comprises, and the active, highly motivated and voluntary manner with which children seek competence, reserving these traits for adults is, according to Bright (1989), both banal and simplistic. The immediate or short time-perspective of adults, as in the fourth criterion, also seems to be erratic, as literature shows that adults are capable of designing their actions on a longer time-interval than children. They are capable of working on difficult and far-reaching tasks, even if it does not pay off immediately (Bright 1989). One example could be adults who return to higher secondary education to access higher education in order to get a collage or university-level diploma facing a final exam up to six years ahead. This leaves us with a set of assumptions that apply for adults, but undoubtably for children too. The next question then is, what is left of "the art and science of helping adults learn?"

Conclusion - right for the wrong reasons

Knowles undoubtably possesses a unique position within the adult education society. To explain this, it would be a fair guess to point to the advocating of the special qualities of adulthood. In this sense, Knowles andragogy has offered a much needed "ideological" basis for many adult educators and adult education providers, boosting the credibility and validity to their existence and work. It can also be pointed to the existentialistic, phenomenologic and liberal orientation in Knowles andragogy. This orientation probably was most appealing to the part of adult education providers with an identity as a kind of social, liberation movement, typical for some traditional voluntary educational organizations (Madsen 1994b; Rubenson 1994). This is supported by Elias who points to andragogy as a helpful slogan in the adult education movement (Cross 1981). In this way andragogy have been significant giving many adult educators a most wanted identity.

However, in many ways it seems that Knowles could be held responsible for both creating and keeping alive several long-lived myths and misconceptions within the adult education community. The main myths are the existence of a learning theory only valid for adults, that adults and children are qualitatively different in self-directedness and learning, and subsequently that pedagogy and andragogy are dichotomous. Unfortunately this myths are reinforced and seemingly confirmed, due to the use of designs in adult education research that mainly does not make use of comparisons of adults and children. Thus, the conclusions about adult learning and how to facilitate effective adult learning are mainly based on empiry obtain *only by studying adults.* The possibility that given the opportunity, children would give the same type of response as adults, is thereby not allowed or considered. As a result the andragogical influenced readers are led to the false conclusion what is found to be valid for adults, is not valid for children. This even if this false dichotomy is not explicitly referred to in the reports or underlying the research conducted. In this way, andragogy can be accused of having obstructed the development of reliable and valid knowledge of adults as learners.

Nevertheless, by stressing the importance of self-directedness, primarily in adult education, within Knowles' writings it is possible to perceive a parallel with the debate in pedagogy and educational psychology, questioning teaching principles in general, and focusing on the role of self-regulation in learning. In this way he contributes to the growing interest in the topic and to the general agreement on the key role of self-directedness in effective learning in all kinds of education and for all age-groups. This, even if his writings do not fulfill the requirements of science and thus constitutes a collection of "clever speculations".

However, since Knowles includes the possibility of adults, in childhood, having been *conditioned* to be dependent in learning situations, the logical conclusion must be that both age groups must be principally, self-directed learners. The reason behind adults needing to learn to be self-directed in learning must then be by *applying pedagogical teaching methods on children their self-directedness becomes severely depressed.* On such a basis it can be concluded that pedagogy equally well should not be applied to children, thus, andragogy must be the best suited teaching principle for children too. This if we accept Knowles connotation of pedagogy as a teacher controlled, learner passive teaching technique and adragogy as learner controlled, teacher guided teaching technique. In all likelihood this indicates that andragogy includes a way of teaching which is valid for all age-groups involved in organized learning activities. On this basis the dichotomies between both pedagogy and andragogy, and children and adults, become substantial undermined, even by Knowles himself. It then becomes irrelevant to talk about pedagogy on one hand and andragogy on the other hand.

The main challenge of *all* kinds of education, also adult education, will then be to develop teaching techniques, adapting methods and contents, create climates and choose among means that are maximally suitable according to the properties of the actual target-groups that are served. If we accept the connotation of pedagogy as "the art and science of transferring, disseminating and generating knowledge, and learning to learn", the challenge of creating a "maximized pedagogy," must and cannot be taken on, supported by myths and misconceptions, but have to be addressed by empirically based reliable and valid knowledge. Much point in the direction of self-directedness, learning to learn or self-regulation in learning as important factors to be considered in the pursuit of this goal.

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KNOWLEDGE AND DEMOCRACY - OLD AND NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AS LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS IN THE POST-WAR WELFARE STATE

Introduction

In this article we present a brief overview of theories on social movements and raise some questions for future research.

Old and new social movements and their relation to knowledge and democracy are important social issues as well as being of scientific interest. This article focuses on the cognitive praxis of the old and the new social movements, their function as learning environments and to what extent knowledge determine the dimensions along which they operate.

Concurrent to the technological development, knowledge has become increasingly tied to individuals' and collectives' potential to influence social developments (Thomas 1983). The international debate over lifelong education, continuing education and lifelong learning has been aimed at the role of citizenship as well as personal development.

In the Nordic countries it is generally understood that the numerous contributions of popular adult educators and popular movements have brought about a form of "cultural capital". There have, however, occurred substantial changes in connection with popular movements and collective action, nationally as well as internationally and further knowledge about these is sought. To further the development of democracy we are seeking knowledge about these changes.

Background

The years between 1945 and 1980 can be characterised as a period of expansion for the welfare state considering both socio-political reforms and the resources devoted to welfare benefits. This characterisation applies to both Norway and Europe. (...) The start of the 1980s represented a shift, both ideologically and practically, in politics. In Norway, this was expressed in official documents, for example the government's long term programs, and through a more critical examination of the welfare state in the ongoing public debate. The importance of the third sector became increasingly stressed“ (Velferd og samfunn 1994, 4).

The active participation of citizens is essential to all democracy. What forces are present to oppose social developments perceived to be going in the wrong direction? Historically, popular movements and popular adult education have constituted an independent force contributing to the development of civil society. A basic question is the extent to which this is still the case. We are especially interested in how citizens attain knowledge to influence societal development, individually as well as together with others.

Characteristics of social movements

The sociologist Rudolf Heberle, who has studied the Swedish workers' movement, contends that all languages in the West use the metaphor “movement“ to describe the phenomena discussed here (Heberle 1925). An essential feature is the intention to change the pattern of human relations and social institutions. Further, a genuine social movement is always integrated through a collection of consistent ideas or an ideology that is, however, not always systematically accounted for. It is expressed in, for example, proclamations, resolutions, programs, pamphlets, news articles, letters, diaries and biographies (Heberle 1951).

The sociologists Mats Friberg and Johan Galtung maintain that the term “movement“ presupposes collective action and active participation. Genuine popular movements constitute a democratic and constructive element in history. They challenge the assumption of bureaucracy that certain developments can only be realised by competent civil servants with access to public funding.

“Popular movements are simply the means by which citizens can intervene in history when they feel that the authority is leading them in the wrong direction.

Every society gets the movements it deserves" (Friberg and Galtung 1984, 12).

A social movement is a reaction to the existing institution's lack of ability to mediate conflicts or handle new problems and demands brought about by new actors. If the institutional channels are not able to resolve new problems then alternative channels are formed (Garcia-Godos 1994).

Movements have a tendency to become rigid organisations once the initial waves of awakening and enthusiasm die down. When a movement becomes institutionalised it ceases to be a "movement" since the dynamic disappears (Friberg and Galtung 1984).

Older social movements

The political scientist Hilding Johansson (1993) outlines the typical features of older social movements. They have a developed organisation, large membership, a strong fellowship, long-term goals, voluntary association and an autonomous position in relation to the state. Another function of the movement is to act as a "ladder" for members' social, economic and cultural mobility. Further, the movements locale came to represent a public meeting place for the community.

When the popular movements emerged there was a distinct difference between their internal democracy and the system of privileges in the state. At the time it was capital, property, and status that gave the right to rule. As Esping-Andersen (1989) contends, the social democratic welfare model is such that rather than tolerate the dualism between state and market, between working class and middle class, an equality of the highest standard is sought above an equality of minimum need. The common good is a result of the fact that the workers' movement did not act solely on the behalf of one interest group. From its historical roots as a social movement, it also worked for the civil society. It was from within the traditional political arena and through the integration of corporatism and political power that the workers' movement achieved its goals (Rubenson 1994).

The Norwegian - and later the Swedish - Royal Commission on Power has examined the actual opportunities for democratic participation and influence. Commonly this occurs through tightly organised channels, such as party activity and similar organisations. Influence, however, can also occur through mass media and collective actions (NOU 1982:3). These are time specific, goal oriented, directed toward a single issue and have a relatively low level of organisational structure. These forms of collective action have a long historical tradition in Norway, however they are becoming more frequent. This indicates that they have become accepted as a form of political participation. The question is whether it is new groups in society that are driving them. The Norwegian and Swedish Royal Commissions on Power have outlined the connections between educational level and gender on the one hand and participation at party meetings, demonstrations and protest actions on the other (NOU 1982:3; SOU 1990:44).

New social movements

The movements, networks and activist groups that have emerged since 1960 represent, according to some researchers, a new phenomenon. The German sociologist Claus Offe and others maintain that, in contrast to older movements, these do not find themselves in conflict with the dominant culture as a whole but rather orient themselves toward certain areas of interest within it. They embody a number of different popular forms for revolt against the modern state's industrial development, the cosequences of which include economic stagnation, ecological imbalance and bureaucracy (Offe 1985). Other researchers question the radical newness of "New Social Movements".

It is clear though, that the study of social movements has gained increased attention since the end of the 1960s, when a host of new groups emerged. In more recent theories, the actor plays a central role, articulating and interpreting alternatives for action through communication with others in the same social situation. The formation of meaning and social action are understood as socially constructed, not structurally determined.

However, theories on New Social Movements have changed qualitatively during the last two decades. Alberto Melucci maintains, for example, that the label came about as a replacement for a good theoretical explanation. The term "new" was first used to indicate the weaknesses in existing theories on collective action in understanding emerging phenomena and to underline the need for a more uniform frame of analysis. It was also a tool to uncover the weaknesses of the resource mobilisation theory, which dominated the study of social movements. The resource mobilisation theory stresses the organisational aspects of collective action and the material and ideological resources that show themselves to be suitable to maintain an open channel for collective mobilisation. The collective action becomes a part of a complex web of institutional social processes, structured through access to the political system and popular opinion. The New Social Movement perspective, however, starts with the reasons underlying the action by asking the question "Why?" (in contrast to the "How?" of mobilisation theory). The aim is to explain the significance of structural factors behind collective action, something that resource mobilisation theory, according to its critics, does not give adequate weight to. Therefore, contends Melucci, the debate about the degree of "newness" focuses on a false problem. "New" is by definition a relative term that, in this instance, refers foremost to the difference between traditional working class relations within the framework of industry and capitalism on the one hand, and the emergence of collective actions in a highly differentiated social system on the other hand. Further, researchers that have engaged in the question maintain that the movements of the 1970s and 1980s have a different character compared to those of the 1960s. One of the differences is that they in a more forceful way join global commitments to local actions and collective actions to individualism. "Think globally, act locally" is their slogan and popular image. Even if the adequacy of the term "New Social Movements" is thus questioned, we use it in this article to label organisations for collective, democratic action that differ from "older" popular movements, where the mobilisation of the masses was an essential prerequisite for its ability to act. In newer action groups, which are more temporary, greater importance is placed on content and direct results than on the number of participants. "...a social movement is neither a being nor a feeling but a doing".

The Danish sociologist Leif Thomsen (1989) addresses "social experiments" in the Nordic countries. The term is closely related to what the Trondheim sociologist Ola Listhaug (1990) refers to as the utopian side of the new social movements. These are most common in Denmark. In Sweden, alternatives are quickly absorbed by the state and loose their autonomy and their utopian potential. In Norway and Finland, the social experiments are less widespread, something that can be explained by the stronger presence of traditional movements and values. The Icelandic case is less clear. However, one can say that there the larger social movements that have emerged in the last 20-30 years were nearly non-existent at the end of the 1980s.

The two most central movements of our time are the womens' movement and environmental movement. A comparative examination of the emergence of the environmental movement in recent years shows that the Swedish environmental movement, in contrast to the Danish and Dutch, quickly became an established organisation. It was incorporated in the dominant culture and never grew into a movement in its own right. The influence of the established political culture was too strong. For example, the protest over nuclear power in Sweden was from the beginning a parliamentary affair. All the established parties had their own study programs, largely organised by study associations such as WEA (Jamison, Eyerman, Crameer & Læssø 1990).

One study by Frode Gundersen shows that the development in Norway occurred along similar lines. The re-organisation of The National Society for Nature Protection into Norway's Nature Protection Association is one example. The 1960s was the starting point for the modern environmental movement. The NNV and the natural environment had their heyday in the 1960s with respect to educational activities. Nature and Youth, which was formed in 1968, took up the youth and student uprising. The struggle over hydro expansion, which came to be the central conflict theme, inspired both a modern ecological perspective and local social actions.

Nature protection was redefined as environmental protection in connection with the establishment of the Ministry of Environment in 1972. During the period between 1970 and 1975 the environmental movement in Norway was probably the strongest in Europe. Not before, nor since this time, have nature and environmental protection been as central to the social debate. While the 1960s had its educational generation, the 1970-1975 era had its eco-political or EF-generation, which was more heterogeneous in make up, both socially and ideologically. The years 1977-87 were characterised by expansion of the public administration and decline of the environmental movement. During the last decade the environmental movement has had difficulty expressing its message. Although actions and confrontations have received more publicity, the basic values of the movement have been given less attention. According to Gundersen, today's the environmental movement lacks a real opposition (Gundersen 1991).

It is possible to question Offe's, and others, interpretation of the new social movements. Especially the womens' movement ought to be understood as not only directing itself toward objectives and interests. Far reaching social change has also been, and continues to be, on the agenda (Holter 1982). The efforts to establish alternative knowledge and understanding of power relations, the relationship between genders *et cetera* as a part of the route to womens' equality and liberation have played an important role in the womens' struggle (Haraway 1991; Fox-Keller 1995).
The womens' movement has been able to get its interests on the agenda. This is also institutionally rooted (Listhaug 1990). For instance, many rights to equal treatment exist in the form of laws and regulations. Nevertheless, many

are worried by the development. Susan Faludi's book *Backlash* (Faludi 1993) expresses such worries, which many women share.

Although the womens' movement is counted among the new social movements it has a tradition among "the old popular movements" from the last half of the 1800s. In accordance to traditional class patterns, the movement of that time had a bourgeois wing and a working class wing. The struggle that took place within the movement at that time was therefore quite different from today's. The bourgeois women wanted equal rights to education and work, in line with their husbands; the working class women fought for higher wages, better working conditions, shorter working days in line with the rest of the workers movement (Raaum 1995).

The 1970s were active years for the womens' movement. Like the environmental movement, it had its own international year, in 1975. That year the first international womens' conference was held in Mexico. The next conference occured ten years after and the third womens' conference took place in Beijing in 1995. Norway saw many autonomous, long-term initiatives within the new womens' movement, such as forums for discussion, literary societies, womens' political forums, papers like *The Siren*, offices for legal advice et cetera (Haukaa 1982; Wiig 1984). During the same period, various organisations that stood for the different perspectives within the Norwegian womens' movement were also established. These included Nyfeministene (The New Feminists) (1970), Kvinnefronten (The Womens' Front) (1972), Lesbisk bevegelse (The Lesbian Movement) (1975), Brød og Roser (Bread and Roses) (1975), and Oslo Faglige Kvinnebevegelse (The Oslo Womens' Union Movement) (1977). When Runa Haukaa (1982) described the new womens' movement, she included older organisations such as the Norwegian Womens' Sufferage Association of 1884 and the Norwegian Womens' Federation of 1954. According to Haukaa these continued to make up a driving force behind the womens' movement.

These organisations stand for different aspects of the womens' struggle, something that to a certain degree is reflected in the dimensions along which they are organised. Even though most were organised along a traditional hierarchical structure exceptions existed. The New Feminists and the Lesbian Movement were nevertheless the only ones with a flat organisational structure. These had fewer members than the hierarchically structured organisations. These organisational differences were also reflected in differences in the approach to the womens' struggle. Two distinct strategies can be identified. One in which consciousness raising, flat organisation, and wide membership are valued, the other approach puts emphasis on the number of members, hierarchical organisation, and uniformity (Haukaa 1982).

The revolt of the social movements is connected to the perceived crisis in industrial societies. In this perspective one has to ask: What kind of society we are moving toward? Some predict the collapse of the welfare state, others speak of a transition from an industrial to a risk society (Beck 1993). It is interesting to note that the workers' movement and other "older movements" appeared at the time of industrialisation and are strongly attached to the welfare state. The new social movements attach themselves to the end of the industrial society. We have to ask how their different outlooks on the nature of society influence their views on knowledge and social participation.

Some researchers, such as the sociologist Craig Calhoun (1994), also analyse the ways in which these movements are new. Many of them emerged in the wake of the "new left" and the related student movements of the 1960s and were seen as "new" by the activists themselves and by the academics. Calhoun outlines several "core ideas" in the theories on New Social Movements. Social movements:

1. have both identity and instrumental goals,
2. can come about both to defend existing conditions, and to change them,
3. politicise everyday life, they do not see the "public" as something fundamentally different from the "private" or "personal",
4. mobilise along a manifold base, that can be different from class or material interests, and mobilise both the middle class and lower classes,
5. often take the initiative, setting good examples, and wish to promote the values on which the activity is based, not merely the consequences of the activity,
6. often use unconventional means, they renew the repertoire of collective action, whether they are completely new or in the beginning phase,
7. those who are mobilised in social movements often have competing and overlapping commitments within the field of social movements (Calhoun 1994).

The womens' movement and the environmental movement - clearly the most central movements of our time - have expressed ideals of social change. It is interesting to study the strategies they have developed and used. These involve knowledge strategies as well as transmitting their own knowledge - strategies for action.

Movements as knowledge environments

One of the most attractive features to adult education of the emergence of the term "lifelong learning" is that it declares that learning is not limited to formal education and that therefore learning also can occur at the work-place, in churches, museums, libraries, recreational centres and also through involvement in social movements, political parties and so on. The idea of "learning as life", to use Grudtvig and Lindeman's term (*The Meaning of Adult Education,* New York, 1926), as well as the concept of self-directed learning is the core of what adult education stands for. Rubenson uses the term "life wide learning" to express this principle (Rubenson 1995).

We are interested in focusing on the relation between citizens' knowledge and their opportunities for democratic participation. A central question, therefore, is whether present developments in society will alter the importance of social movements when it comes to the members' and activists' knowledge, view of knowledge, and search for knowledge. What role do older and new social movements play as knowledge milieus?

Older popular movements

The older popular movements have, among other things, demanded change in the formal education system and have even created their own alternatives. Central to the examination is the role that these movements presently play as action oriented knowledge environments, as well as the character of the dominant view of the formal system and the science.

Generation of knowledge and knowledge acquisition make up an integral part of the movement. To contribute to increased knowledge is not a side activity but rather an expression of the movement's central, basic outlook. The ideology of the movement is of great importance in the context of knowledge, because the educational component is an integrated part of the movement (Paulston and Lejeune 1980). In a practical sense, libraries, study circles and folk high schools have contributed in making the older popular movements knowledge environments. The focus on the educational question prevented according to the historian Bo Stråth (1987) a German form of *Bildungsbürgertum*. A counter weight to the established educated elite was built up, not only at the local level, but also in the highest decision-making bodies.

New social movements

The *cognitive praxis* of the new social movements is an important force in the creation of possibilities for democratic participation (Tjörvason 1993). The *knowledge interest* that the movement has gives it an identity and can be likened to the ideology of an older movement. It is integrated in a similar way to that of the educational work of the older movements.

Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison (1987) identify three dimensions of knowledge interest in the environmental movement: a cosmological, technological, and organisational. The cosmological makes up a larger system of conviction, that are taken for granted and create meaning. The environmental movement's cosmological knowledge interest necessitates a reinterpretation of the values of nature and the relationship between humans and nature. The technological knowledge interest is tied to the specific technologies that can be seen as useful in achieving new ecological relationships between society and nature. The movement's organisational knowledge interest places emphasis in particular on participation and democratisation, "a science for the people" among other things (Eyerman and Jamison 1987). Eyerman and Jamison contend that the ideology term is too narrow to be used in respect to the new movements. Instead they conceptualise the life process of the environmental movement as an interplay between knowledge interests and political strategy.

Claus Offe (1985) maintains that there exists a connection between educational level and unconventional forms of political participation, whereby higher education makes it possible to asses complex questions, for example in the environmental field. Further, higher education also leads to a competence in original thinking and action, independent of others' opinions. An important question is the extent to which the knowledge environment function of the movement influence patterns of reqruitment.

Altered conditions

The social outlook plays determining role for knowledge interests, knowledge processes and political activity, both when it comes to older popular movements and new social movements. The older movements that have, among other things, had the welfare state as a goal, make up, because of their background in industrialisation, their foundation and actions - a part of modernity, with strong elements of rationality, economic growth and distribution. They are also expressions of collective interests and collective action, steered by rational deliberation and negotiation. Johan P. Olsen (1990) (SOU 1990:44) maintains that a socially centred perspective on democracy is dominant in Sweden. A negotiational democracy has emerged.

"The Swedish state requires an organisation or a popular movement to relate to when problems arise" (Olsen 1990).

According to Beck's terminology activists in new social movements have to deal with problems in a "risk society". In the welfare state the goal is to distribute economic and social welfare. In a risk society risks, created through the modern industrial society are distributed. They effect every one: "Poverty is hierarchic, smog is democratic". Consciousness about risks is transmitted through knowledge. This implies that those who are effected are best educated and most active when it comes to informing themselves. Knowledge determines the risk consciousness - not the other way around. This entails, according to Beck, the end of the antithesis between nature and society. The society can no longer be understood separately from nature and nature can no longer be understood separately from society. They function as an ecological unit.

According to the "risk society" perspective there emerges a new antagonism distinct from those that make themselves clear when society is seen as a welfare society. The risk opposition creates a new dependence and contributes to the emergence of new groups across earlier borders. When the risk society develops, antagonisms emerge between those that are effected by the risks and those that profit by them. At the same time, the social and economic importance of knowledge increases and with it the power over science and media. Most of those effected are not adequately able to deal with the problems they are exposed to. There emerges, therefore, a strong dependence on the expert's knowledge. How this alters the possibilities for self learning and independent learning is an important question.

The French sociologist Alain Touraine (1995) makes use of the term "programmed" - or "post-industrial" - to describe our present society. This is defined by the coreconcepts of cultural industrialisation - health care, education and information. The central conflict exists between the means of cultural production and the defence of the personal subject. This post-industrial society makes up an arena for cultural and social activity that, according to Tourain, is even more solidly built than industrial society. In democratic action the importance of the subject is increased at the cost of the collective and the nation.

Changing conditions can be indicated through an alternative characterisation of our present society: the Information Society. In recent years information technology (IT) has received increased attention. The question is the extent to which these technological advances will influence older and new social movements as knowledge environments. Along what dimensions is technology put to use? The questions can be approached from both a democratic and pedagogical perspective.

IT can also be linked to collectivism and individualism. The older movements as knowledge environments were characterised by a collective seeking of knowledge, in which books were the central tools for knowledge.

"The popular movements' belief in progress was one branch of a powerful stream of ideas that, after the French Revolution, for a long time had great influenced over Western thought. A number of philosophical systems emerged that youths studied in writings borrowed from the library of the popular movement" (Johansson 1993, 32).

Even the new technologies can naturally be to the collectivities' advantage. A determining factor is how they are used. Are they utilised as an aid or are they allowed to form their own "reality"? Does "the medium become the message"?

Following earlier research, it is not only in questions about social outlook in general that new and older movements differ. Views on democracy are also distinct. The idea about representation is increasingly seen as an illusion (Friberg 1984). According to the reformist perspective that is basic to the welfare state, members of older movements embrace representative democracy. New social movements are, however, characterised by principles of direct democracy, both in their organisation and in their political actions (Offe 1985; Boggs 1986; Finger 1989; Peterson, Westholm and Blomberg 1989).

The idea of representative democracy is built above all on constitutional criteria, laws, rights, constitutions, and electoral participation as well as communication between citizens and politicians. The idea of direct democracy, on the other hand, can be understood from a reflective discourse, maintains Habermas. Thus, the informal components become important. True democracy requires discussion between equal parties, characterised by freedom, equality, rationality and common understanding. Through open discussion it is believed that the participants can agree on the common good.

The view of democracy has consequences for the knowledge process as well as for the dimensions along which change will be engineered.

Presentation of the problem

The title of the article "knowledge and democracy" is tied to the old question of whether "knowledge is power" and to the question of "power over knowledge". The question concerns the view of the knowledge process, content, as well as methods, for the attainment, generation and spread of knowledge and whether knowledge effects beliefs, notions and understandings about the society. The point of departure for the problem formulation is that the movements have social change as the goal of their activity. A basic question is how they define this goal and how they, based on this definition view the movement's "educational goals". If one sees the movement as a sub-culture, an important part of the objective is to get the movement's issues onto the agenda. Several questions arise such as the extent to which the goal is understood as also being to preserve the common culture. Can one see a tension between these objectives, independent of knowledge outlook? A closely related question is the relationship to the school and educational and research institutes. Does one demand to take part of their resources or does one try to create one's own alternatives and what shape do these take?

Earlier research shows that the relationship between knowledge processes, social outlook and active undertakings with social change in mind have been of significant importance to the older movements. In the beginning, the prerequisites were members with low education that collectively operated studies in study circles for example, in order to increase the competence of action. The relationship between knowledge and democracy is also of great relevance to new social movements. Even the goals make up an important condition for the development of the knowledge process. As we mentioned earlier, Offe contends that there is a connection between increased educational level and unconventional forms of political participation. Does the pattern of recruitment imply that the need for common studies, an integral part of the movements' program, is relatively low, and in any case less than the "classical" popular movements at the beginning of the 1900s? How does the relationship between knowledge and action look? Do the goals of the leaders consist first and foremost in building up morale and beliefs, or in developing and spreading new knowledge? Is the need limited to expert knowledge in connection to the movement's central issues? What differences are to be found between older and new social movements?

At the bottom of these questions lies the more basic view of knowledge and science. Does one build one's agitation and actions above all on scientific knowledge, aesthetic knowledge, or everyday knowledge? (Tengström 1987). Does one express the need for alternatives to the knowledge that characterises state education and research?

In a future research project we wish to examine how the differences between older and newer social movements, such as they appear as knowledge environments today, can be made tangible. The idea is to choose two older and two newer movements. The older movements focused on will be from the sector of the workers' movement that has ties to WEA, and of temperance movement now connected to the Study Association for Norwegian Peace and Solidarity Organisations. These can, with regards to their structure, their modes of action, and their educational activity, be seen as typical for the older movements. Among the new social movements a corresponding selection is made from those parts of the environmental movement and the womens' movement that function as knowledge environments. Structure, methods of action, and educational activity are bases for selection.

It will be important to study:
- the participants' view of the study associations' activity with regards to knowledge and democratic action,
- actors within the "new" movements, their outlook on and methods for individual and collective knowledge development,
- how older movements utilise their study associations,
- how new movements cooperate with established study associations, and alternatively whether they establish their own learning contexts,
- the view of IT and other media in the educational activity,
- and how old and new movements operate locally, regionally, centrally, and internationally.

The movement as a knowledge environment in a social context is highlighted by examining the dimensions along which the movement expresses its understanding of knowledge through its actions et cetera, as well as the standards these are measured on. We wish to include the post-war period during which the new social movements developed. This makes it possible to encompass the period in which large parts of our welfare state was formed, criticised, and potentially dismantled. At the same time, the emergence of a different awereness of risk is also a relevant social phenomenon. How the older and new social movements are characterised in relation to the welfare state and the risk state and the ways in which this is expressed, for example through the use of IT and other media in educational activity is an important question.

As well, the way the movements' self view manifests itself in written sources, and how central actors understand the movement will also be examined.

The movement appears in a social context and can be studied by looking at the use of channels for the promotion interests. Thus, papers and media, action material and official documents (such as Parliamentary documents) are important sources. A review, and use of, earlier research will also contribute to knowledge about forms of expression, channels, and breakthroughs for interests. This can be used a basis for the analysis of the movements' understanding of knowledge, expressed through actions, and their aim to put their issues on the agenda.

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